

**Music in Transition: The Life and Works of Reinhold Glière and their Political
and Cultural Context**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree

of Doctor of Philosophy in European Studies

at the University of Canterbury

by Gerald Christopher Ginther

National Centre for Research on Europe

University of Canterbury

2017

Contents

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Music in Transition: The Life and Works of Reinhold Glière and their Political and Cultural Context..... | i |
| Table of Examples | v |
| Index of Tables | ix |
| Index of Plates | ix |
| Abstract | x |
| Note on Transliteration | xi |
| Acknowledgement | xi |
| Chapter One..... | 1 |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Novelty | 4 |
| Sources..... | 5 |
| Methods | 6 |
| Structure..... | 8 |
| Delimitations..... | 9 |
| Literature Review | 9 |
| Chapter 2 Reinhold Glière Biography | 36 |
| Ethnic Origins and Identity..... | 36 |
| Glier Family Musical Origins | 40 |
| Life of Reinhold Glière (1875-1912) | 41 |
| After Graduation..... | 53 |
| Glière's First Visit to Europe | 61 |
| Glière in Berlin | 61 |
| Return to Moscow | 67 |
| <i>Ilya Muromets</i> | 69 |
| <i>Trizna</i> | 71 |
| Conclusion | 73 |
| The Kyiv Conservatory Years..... | 73 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| World War One | 81 |
| Bolshevik Revolution..... | 92 |
| Return to Moscow | 97 |
| After <i>The Red Poppy</i>..... | 101 |
| Last Years..... | 105 |
| Chapter Three..... | 106 |
| Glière and the Political | 106 |
| 1932..... | 109 |
| <i>Zhdanovshchina</i> | 113 |
| Conclusion | 117 |
| Chapter 4: The Early Symphonic Works | 118 |
| Symphony No. 1 in E flat | 118 |
| Symphony No. 2 in C minor | 143 |
| <i>Les Sirènes</i>..... | 165 |
| Conclusion..... | 188 |
| Chapter 5 | 190 |
| <i>Ilya Muromets</i> | 190 |
| Liszt Faust Symphony..... | 195 |
| Richard Strauss <i>Ein Heldenleben</i> | 199 |
| Bartók <i>Kossuth</i> (1903) | 200 |
| Ilya's theme group | 201 |
| <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Znamenny Chant | 204 |
| Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> | 205 |
| First Movement | 206 |
| Third Movement..... | 239 |
| Fourth Movement..... | 243 |
| The Stokowski Cuts | 260 |
| Recorded Versions of <i>Ilya Muromets</i>..... | 265 |
| Conclusion | 267 |
| Chapter 6 | 269 |
| Glière: Miscellaneous Works after <i>The Red Poppy</i> | 269 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Zapovit'</i> | 269 |
| Harp Concerto | 274 |
| Overture on Slavonic Themes..... | 276 |
| Cello Concerto | 280 |
| Horn Concerto | 285 |
| Conclusion | 287 |
| Chapter 7 | 288 |
| Orientalism or National Opera? | 288 |
| Glière's <i>Shakh-Senem</i> | 288 |
| The Orient and Orientalism | 289 |
| Edward Said's Orientalism | 289 |
| Russian Orientalism | 289 |
| Orientalism in European Music | 289 |
| Orientalism in Russian Music | 289 |
| Soviet Orientalism | 289 |
| <i>Shakh-Senem</i> | 290 |
| Shakh-Senem scenario | 301 |
| <i>Shakh-Senem</i> Reception History | 309 |
| Glière in Uzbekistan - <i>Gul'sara, Leyli and Majnun</i> | 315 |
| <i>Leyli and Majnun</i> | 316 |
| <i>Ferghana Holiday Overture</i> | 317 |
| Conclusion | 318 |
| Chapter 8 | 321 |
| The Ballets of Reinhold Glière | 321 |
| Introduction | 321 |
| Soviet Ballet: Beginnings | 322 |
| <i>The Red Poppy</i> | 326 |
| The Spanish ballets: <i>The Comedians, The Daughter of Castille</i> | 355 |
| <i>The Bronze Horseman</i> | 356 |
| <i>Taras Bulba</i> | 374 |
| Conclusion | 380 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Epilogue | 382 |
| Overall Style | 382 |
| Conclusion | 383 |
| Appendices 1 Review of Berlin Concert | 387 |
| Appendices 2 | 388 |
| Glière Complete Works with Opus Number | 389 |
| Works without Opus Number | 402 |
| Bibliography | 405 |

Table of Examples

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Ex 2.1 Glière Op. 28 No. 5 | 59 |
| Ex. 2.2 <i>Trizna</i> sketch 1 | 71 |
| Ex. 2.3 <i>Trizna</i> sketch 2 | 72 |
| Ex. 4.1 Glière Symphony No. 1 opening 4 bars | 119 |
| Ex. 4.2 Glazunov Symphony No. 6 first movement bars 1-4..... | 120 |
| Ex. 4.3 Glazunov Symphony No. 6 first movement at figure 6 | 120 |
| Ex. 4.4 Glière Symphony No. 1 first subject..... | 120 |
| Ex. 4.5 Glière Symphony No. 1 from figure 4 second subject..... | 121 |
| Ex. 4.6 Borodin <i>Prince Igor</i> overture four bars after figure 3 | 123 |
| Ex. 4.7 Glière Symphony No. 1 first movement 17 bars after figure 5 | 124 |
| Ex. 4.8 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo..... | 125 |
| Ex. 4.10 Rimsky-Korsakov Symphony No. 3 Scherzo | 127 |
| Ex. 4.11 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo..... | 128 |
| Ex. 4.12 Stravinsky Symphony in E flat Scherzo | 129 |
| Ex. 4.13 Stravinsky Symphony in E flat Scherzo (continued) | 130 |
| Ex. 4.14 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo trio 8 bars before figure 9..... | 131 |
| Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo figure 20 | 132 |
| Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo (continued) | 133 |
| Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo (continued) | 134 |
| Ex. 4.16 Liszt Faust Symphony III letter Xx | 135 |
| Ex. 4.16 Liszt Faust Symphony III..... | 136 |
| Ex. 4.17 Symphony No. 1 Movement III..... | 137 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ex. 4.18 Symphony No. 1 figure 3 second subject..... | 138 |
| Ex. 4.19 Symphony no. 1 Movement IV first subject | 139 |
| Ex. 4.20 Symphony no. 1 Movement IV second subject | 141 |
| Ex. 4.21 Glazunov Symphony No. 8 | 148 |
| Ex. 4.22 Glière Symphony No. 2 first movement | 149 |
| Ex. 4.23 Glière Symphony No. 2 Scherzo..... | 151 |
| Ex. 4.24 Tchaikovsky Symphony No. 3 Scherzo | 152 |
| Ex. 4.25 Glière Symphony No. 2 third movement theme | 155 |
| Ex. 4.26 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation I | 157 |
| Ex. 4.27 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation II Vivace moto perpetuo bars 5-11 | 159 |
| Ex. 4.28 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation IV scherzando | 160 |
| Ex. 4.29 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation V allegro | 162 |
| Ex. 4.30 Glière Symphony No. 2 Finale first subject | 163 |
| Ex. 4.31 Glière Symphony No. 2 Finale second subject..... | 164 |
| Ex. 4.32 Rachmaninov Isle of the Dead ostinato motif..... | 167 |
| Ex. 4.33 Glazunov The Sea..... | 167 |
| Ex.4.34 Chausson <i>Viviane</i> bars 5-13..... | 169 |
| Ex. 4.35 Glière <i>Les Sirènes</i> bars 1-13 | 170 |
| Ex. 4.36 <i>Les Sirènes</i> harmonic outline to figure 7 | 173 |
| Ex. 4.37 Sea motif 1..... | 175 |
| Ex. 4.38 Ship motif..... | 176 |
| Ex. 4.39 Glière <i>Les Sirènes</i> fig. 7 initial song of the sirens | 177 |
| Ex. 4.40 Wagner <i>die Walküre</i> Act III, Third Scene..... | 177 |
| Ex. 4.41 Desire motif fig, 14 | 178 |
| Ex. 4.42 <i>Tristan und Isolde</i> Act II opening - Day motif | 178 |
| Ex. 4.43 <i>Tristan und Isolde</i> Act II Death motif | 178 |
| Ex. 4.44 figure 14 scherzo motif 1..... | 179 |
| Ex. 4.45 figure 19 scherzo motif 2..... | 180 |
| Ex. 4.46 Desire motif rhythmic augmentation fig. 25 | 181 |
| Ex. 4.47 Desire variation fig. 29 | 181 |
| Ex. 4.48 Fanfare motif fig. 32 siren song 2..... | 181 |
| Ex. 4.49 <i>Tristan und Isolde</i> Act II horn fanfare (at pitch) | 182 |
| Ex. 4.50 Sea motif 2 fig. 32 | 182 |
| Ex. 4.51 full fanfare motif fig. 36 | 183 |
| Ex. 4.52 bass ostinato from fig. 36 - transformation of scherzo motif | 184 |
| Ex. 4.53 Desire (fulfilled) motif extended fig, 43 | 184 |
| Ex. 4.54 Desire motif rhythmic diminution fig. 55..... | 185 |
| Ex. 4.55 Desire motif rhythmic augmentation fig. 58 | 186 |
| Ex. 4.56 fig. 62 destruction of the vessel..... | 187 |
| Ex. 5.1 Beethoven Symphony No. 3 <i>Eroica</i> I first subject | 192 |
| Ex. 5.2 Beethoven Prometheus Theme | 193 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ex. 5.3 Beethoven Symphony No. 3 <i>Eroica</i> III Trio..... | 193 |
| Ex. 5.4 Berlioz <i>Symphonie Fantastique</i> I letter I ‘idée fixe’ | 194 |
| Ex. 5.5 Liszt <i>Faust Symphony</i> I opening | 195 |
| Ex. 5.14 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya horse motif development | 195 |
| Ex. 5.6 Liszt <i>Faust Symphony</i> I letter I | 197 |
| Ex. 5.6 Liszt <i>Faust Symphony</i> I letter O..... | 198 |
| Ex. 5.8 Wagner <i>Das Ring der Niblungen</i> Siegfried horn call | 198 |
| Ex. 5.9 Wagner <i>Das Ring der Niblungen</i> sword motif | 199 |
| Ex. 5.10 Richard Strauss <i>Ein Heldenleben</i> hero motif | 199 |
| Ex. 5.11 Richard Strauss <i>Salome</i> fig. 66 Jochanan’s motif | 200 |
| Ex. 5.12 Bartók <i>Kossuth</i> opening theme | 201 |
| Ex. 5.13 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya flying horse motif | 202 |
| Ex. 5.14 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya horse motif development figure 42..... | 202 |
| Ex. 5.15 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> galop motif | 202 |
| Ex. 5.16 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya heroic motif | 203 |
| Ex. 5.17 Smetana <i>Tábor</i> bar 322 Hussite Chorale..... | 204 |
| Ex. 5.18 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Znamenny Chant..... | 205 |
| Ex. 5.19 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya opening theme | 208 |
| Ex. 5.20 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya awakening..... | 208 |
| Ex. 5.21 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 7 Znamenny Chant in context | 209 |
| Ex. 5.22 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya horse theme and awakening | 210 |
| Ex. 5.9 Wagner <i>Das Ring der Niblungen</i> sword motif | 210 |
| Ex. 5.23 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 22 Ilya heroic theme beginnings | 211 |
| Ex. 5.24 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 24 Ilya motifs | 211 |
| Ex. 5.25 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya heroic motif | 212 |
| Ex. 5.26 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 29 Svyatogor’s theme..... | 212 |
| Ex. 5.27 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 42 Ilya’s theme pizzicato | 213 |
| Ex. 5.28 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya’s theme pizzicato and Svyatogor | 213 |
| Ex. 5.29 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 59 Ilya’s theme rhythmically augmented..... | 215 |
| Ex. 5.30 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> fig. 87 transference of Svyatogor’s powers to Ilya | 217 |
| Ex. 5.31 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> death of Svyatogor..... | 218 |
| Ex. 5.32 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> Ilya attains full powers..... | 218 |
| Ex. 5.33 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II bars 3-5 forest motif | 220 |
| Ex. 5.34 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 1 birdsong | 221 |
| Ex. 5.34 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 1 Solovei | 221 |
| Ex. 5.35 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 2 Solovei | 222 |
| Ex. 5.36 Richard Strauss <i>Also Sprach Zarathustra</i> ‘Disgust motif’ | 222 |
| Ex. 5.37 Ilya Muromets II fig. 2..... | 223 |
| Ex. 5.38 Scriabin <i>The Divine Poem</i> I p. 110 birdsong..... | 224 |
| Ex. 5.38 Scriabin <i>The Divine Poem</i> II p. 139 birdsong | 224 |
| Ex. 5.39 Wagner <i>Siegfried</i> Act II Scene II | 225 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ex. 5.40 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 1 birdsong | 225 |
| Ex. 5.41 Solovei's maidens full orchestral score..... | 226 |
| Ex. 5.42 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 5 Solovei's maidens | 227 |
| Ex. 5.43 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 13 Solovei's whistle | 229 |
| Ex. 5.44 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 18 entrance of Ilya | 230 |
| Ex. 5.45 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 19 harmonic outline | 230 |
| Ex. 5.46 Ilya Muromets II three bars before figure 20..... | 231 |
| Ex. 5.47 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 20 Solovei's maidens seduction motif..... | 232 |
| Ex. 5.48 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II figure 25 antiphonal harp writing | 234 |
| Ex. 5.49 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II fig. 28 birdsong | 236 |
| Ex. 5.50 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II figure 32 transition..... | 237 |
| Ex. 5.51 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> II figure 61 Solovei shot by arrow | 238 |
| Ex. 5.52 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> III fig. 1 first subject | 240 |
| Ex. 5.54 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> III fig. 4 harmonic outline | 240 |
| Ex. 5.53 Borodin <i>Prince Igor</i> overture | 241 |
| Ex. 5.55 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> III fig. 9 second subject | 242 |
| Ex. 5.56 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV bars 9-11..... | 245 |
| Ex. 5.57 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 10 Tatar Invasion..... | 246 |
| Ex. 5.58 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 48 Polyenitsa Udalaya | 247 |
| Ex. 5.59 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 53 Udalaya Polyenitsa and Ilya | 248 |
| Ex. 5.60 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 68 Ilya's taunt | 249 |
| Ex. 5.61 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 69 pilgrim chant full harmonisation | 250 |
| Ex. 5.62 Glière <i>Ilya Muromets</i> IV fig. 101 | 251 |
| Ex 6.1 Zapovit bars 1-12..... | 271 |
| Ex. 6.2 Zapovit bars 32-44..... | 271 |
| Ex. 6.3 Zapovit bars 130-142 «Ой, та йшов козак з Дону»..... | 272 |
| Ex. 6.4 Zapovit Martial episode (animato molto) bars 199-213 | 273 |
| Ex. 6.5 Zapovit «Эй, ухнем» bars 214-221..... | 274 |
| Ex. 6.6 Overture on Slavonic Themes 'Гей, славяне!' | 277 |
| Ex. 6.7 Overture on Slavonic Themes «Слава»..... | 277 |
| Ex. 6.8 Overture on Slavonic Themes «Родина милая»..... | 278 |
| Ex. 6.9 Overture on Slavonic Themes 'Bývali Čechové!' | 279 |
| Ex. 6.10 Cello Concerto first subject..... | 281 |
| Ex. 6.11 Cello Concerto second subject | 282 |
| Ex 6.12 Evgeny's theme (<i>The Bronze Horseman</i>) fragment..... | 282 |
| Ex. 7.5 Shakh Senem Overture Араспари свадебный танец Wedding Dance | 303 |
| Ex. 7.6 Shakh Senem overture bars 119-123 lyrical song..... | 303 |
| Ex. 7.7 Shakh Senem overture Armenian dance (also Act II) 'Enzeli' | 304 |
| Ex. 7.8 Shakh-Senem ballade Act III finale..... | 305 |
| Ex. 7.9 Shakh Senem's Aria Act IV..... | 306 |
| Ex 7.10 Mugham modes | 312 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Ex 8.1 No. 32 Grand Adagio in E major | 340 |
| Ex. 8.2 No. 35 Tao-Hoa's Variation..... | 341 |
| Ex. 8.3 Tao-Hoa theme 1 | 342 |
| Ex. 8.4 Tao-Hoa theme 2 | 342 |
| Ex 8.5 Soviet captain No. 11 | 342 |
| Ex. 8.6 In the Opium Den No. 21 | 343 |
| Ex 8.7 Cortege No. 28a | 343 |
| Ex. 8.8 Charleston No. 40 | 343 |
| Ex 8.9 Dance of the Golden Plate No. 42..... | 344 |
| Ex 8.10 Valse-Boston Nos. 54 & 57..... | 344 |
| Ex 8.13 Myaskovsky Symphony No. 10 Parasha | 358 |
| Ex 8.14 Glière: <i>The Bronze Horseman</i> Parasha | 359 |
| Ex. 8.15 Moskovsky Life Guards' March (No. 17) | 365 |
| Ex. 8.16 'Solovei, Solovei, ptashcheka' | 365 |
| Ex 8.17 Evgeny (No. 18)..... | 366 |
| Ex. 8.18 Parasha (No. 19) | 366 |
| Ex. 8.19 First Khovorod no. 22 and Second Khovorod No. 27 | 367 |
| Ex. 8.20 'Fortune telling' (No. 26) | 367 |
| Ex. 8.22 Meeting (No. 28) | 368 |
| Ex. 8.21 'Fortune telling' trio Parasha's theme altered | 368 |
| Ex. 8.23 Coda – Waltz (No. 32) | 369 |
| Ex. 8.24 Premonition..... | 369 |
| Ex. 8.25 Apotheosis: Hymn to the Great City (No. 47)..... | 371 |
| Ex 8.27 <i>Taras Bulba</i> Suite No. 3 'Andriy' | 379 |
| Ex 8.26 <i>Taras Bulba</i> Suite No. 7 Grand Adagio melody | 379 |

Index of Tables

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 4.1..... | 145 |
| Table 4.2..... | 145 |
| Table 4.3..... | 146 |
| Table 4.4..... | 147 |
| Table 5.1 Orchestration Chart..... | 206 |
| Table 5.2 recent <i>Ilya Muromets</i> recordings cut | 266 |
| Table 5.3 <i>Ilya Muromets</i> recordings uncut | 267 |

Index of Plates

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Plate 5.1 Letter from Cleveland Orchestra to Stokowski | 262 |
| Plate 5.2 Stokowski's cuts..... | 263 |
| Plate 5.3 Letter from Glière to Stokowski 1949 | 264 |

Abstract

Reinhold Glière is little known outside the states of the former Soviet Union but he fulfilled an important role both in Russia before 1917 and then in the nascent Soviet Union. This composer born in Kyiv Kyiv 1875 had close ties to Germany and Poland. In one way he was unique - he was successful in pre-revolutionary Russia with his powerful Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets* and he was able to become popular again in the Soviet era with *The Red Poppy* ballet which managed to capture the spirit of the time. After the 1917 Revolution he began to look eastward to Soviet Central Asia composing operas based on folk music. He became the first chairman of the Soviet Composers' Union in 1939. An accurate and true portrayal of Russian and Soviet cultural history cannot ignore Glière although information about him, especially in English, is riddled with errors and inconsistencies. His international reputation has suffered from poor background information about his ethnicity, politics and aesthetics. Glière was believed to be of Belgian origin by many Western writers yet his family's ethnic ties to Germany were so close that his two brothers went to live in Germany after World War 1.

for to Was this composer an anachronism in the twentieth century producing music which belonged to the nineteenth as some critics allege or was he a significant transitional figure between late romanticism and modernism?

Note on Transliteration

Transliteration from Russian into English can be problematic. Accordingly the Library of Congress transliteration system has been adopted. Historic spellings of familiar composers, for example Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov, Scriabin, are more recognisable to the reader than alternative versions and therefore have been retained.. Polish and Czech names have retained their original forms with any diacritical marks. The spelling Glière was adopted by the composer Reinhold circa 1900. It was never used by his parents or siblings. In their case ‘Glier’ is used as it appears in German and is a straight transliteration of the Russian Глиер. The Russian form of Glière exclusively used by Reinhold Moritseovich and his descendants is: Глиэр.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank his supervisors - Professor Natalia Chaban and Professor Martin Holland , Professor Larry Sitsky from the ANU in Canberra and Dr Jeffrey Brukman from Rhodes University, South Africa for their support in the preparation of this thesis. The NCRE at the University of Canterbury has been an ideal environment in which to study Europe with frequent exchange visits from diplomats, academics and students from a wide variety of countries.

This thesis owes much to my late mother - Irene Ginther who greatly inspired and encouraged my dedication to music and my late sister Catherine Ginther with whom I grew up and shared many interests including music and ballet.

I must pay tribute to my late father John (Evgeny Sergeyvich) Ginther who as a member of the Russian diaspora in Shanghai instilled in me a love of Russian culture and language that is still

with me. To my Russian grandparents – Sergei Anatolyevich Ginther who was born in St Petersburg and Ekaterina Andreevna Zhukova who was born near Poltava, Ukraine I dedicate this research which embodies elements of the country they were forced to leave.

The assistance of EUCN enabled me to participate in three conferences in Australia - one in Newcastle and two in Melbourne and New Zealand –Hamilton and Palmerston North. The generous funding of the Musicological Society of Australia enabled me to attend further conferences in Perth and Canberra and Brisbane.

Chapter One

Introduction

Reinhold Glière was a prominent composer both in fin de siècle Russia and the then Soviet Union's formative years. He had trained in Moscow under Tchaikovsky's successor Sergei Taneyev. After early successes with his string chamber music he composed one of the great Russian epic symphonies - *Ilya Muromets*. The symphony became a *cause célèbre* for Leopold Stokowski in the USA and developed cult status. With the demise of romanticism after the First World War and subsequent political events in Russia, Glière found that his music had become less relevant. Progressive critics in the nascent Soviet Union derided his music as derivative and irrelevant. Despite the popularity of *Ilya Muromets*, the derision spread to the West and prevailing attitudes such as Leonid Sabaneyev's: 'He possesses exceptional lack of originality,'¹ and Richard Taruskin's: '[Glière was] a composer old enough to be a Belyaevets fellow traveller half a century earlier, who had hardly modified his style since then ...'² were dominant. Were these opinions justified or was Glière more than just an irrelevant mediocrity?

Of the many Russian composers born in the 1870s the most prominent were to be Sergei Rachmaninov (1872 – 1943), Alexander Scriabin (1872-1915) and Reinhold Glière (1875-1956). Others born in the same decade included Sergei Vasilenko (1872-1956), Nikolai Tcherepnin (1873-1945), Alexander Goedicke (1877-1957), and Sergei Bortkiewicz (1877-

¹ Leonid Leonidovich Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers* (London: Lawrence, 1927), p. 11.

² Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester, [England]: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 98.

1852). Scriabin and Rachmaninov were students at the Moscow Conservatory in the 1880s with Glière arriving from Kyiv in 1892.

Late romanticism was the dominant musical style in 1875 when the division between the progressives under Wagner and Liszt (New German School) and the conservative Brahms faction was at its peak. In Russia the Balakirev Circle (or Kuchka) was influenced and supported by the New German School, whereas the conservatories set up by Anton and Nikolai Rubinstein respectively in St Petersburg and Moscow were more conservative in outlook. The divisions were lessened when the Kuchka dissolved into the Belyaev Circle in the 1880s and erstwhile opponents became fellow members of the group. The major Russian composer of the time was Tchaikovsky but he died in 1893. Tchaikovsky's anointed successor was Sergei Taneyev although Rimsky-Korsakov and Anton Glazunov were the more prominent. Music in Russia was more resistant to modernism than literature and the visual arts where a 'Silver Age' developed. There was a unique exception - the short-lived Alexander Scriabin (1872-1915) who pursued an avant garde aesthetic but initially found more success in France than in Russia. When Rimsky-Korsakov died in 1908 Russia had lost its major composer. This was followed by the deaths of Taneyev and the still young Scriabin in 1915. Then Meanwhile Igor Stravinsky was enjoying success with Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes* eclipsing the Russian musical establishment figures Glazunov, Ippolitov-Ivanov and Rachmaninov. Stravinsky left Russia in 1914 and was unable to return. After the October 1917 Revolution Rachmaninov and Prokofiev also departed Russia whereas Glazunov, Ippolitov-Ivanov and Glière remained. How Russian composers adapted to the new regime depended on People's Commissar of Public Education Anatoly Lunacharsky's support and goodwill. Glazunov eventually left the Soviet Union in 1928. In some ways this was to Glière's advantage as he became the first choice to lead the Soviet Composers' Union in

1939. Meanwhile the avant garde was in the ascendancy in the musical world generally with some exceptions such as Richard Strauss and Jean Sibelius. Music produced by the USSR was not regarded highly although Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* of 1934 caught the public imagination in the United States and Europe and Prokofiev's first two piano concertos also made an impact.

KyivGlière received his first musical education at the KyivMusic School (as it was called then) and then the Moscow Conservatory, graduating in 1900. Unlike his famous contemporaries (legendary pianist composer Sergei Rachmaninov and long-time Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor Sergei Koussevitzky) Glière remained in Russia after the 1917 Revolution. His major advocates in the West had been Leopold Stokowski who performed and recorded Glière's Symphony No. 3 *Ilya Muromets* with his Philadelphia Orchestra and to a lesser extent Frederick Stock in Chicago. More recently Sir Edward Downes, Conductor Emeritus of the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra in Manchester, and his successor Vassily Sinaisky, have performed the Glière symphonies, the latest instance being a BBC Proms Concert in 2007 when the Third Symphony was performed. Most recently the Buffalo Philharmonic featured the Third Symphony in a Carnegie Hall performance in May 2013.

Is the composer's image as portrayed by Sabaneyev and Taruskin plus Marina Frolova-Walker's 'Kuchka epigone' compatible with that of a transitional figure linking late romanticism and modernism, from Russia to the Soviet Union? Has Cold War politics tarnished Glière's reputation undeservedly or has he been judged on his merits? The aim of this thesis is to produce an accurate, fully balanced, nuanced picture of an important Russian/Soviet composer.

Novelty

Analyses of Glière's works are rare and few between. Mariya Leonova's 'Symphonic Works of R.M. Glière' contained analyses which had their uses but were often rudimentary and crude. To gain a true insight into the musical language of Glière, it was decided to adopt Tarasti's semiotic methods for *Les Sirènes* and *Ilya Muromets*. These revealed subtleties and nuances that were not obvious to the many authors who have attempted to write about *Ilya Muromets* for recording companies. For most the work remains elusive.

Accurate information about Glière in English is also elusive. Stanley Krebs devoted eleven pages to Glière in 1970³ and a DMA thesis was written by Michael Misner about Glière's Horn Concerto.⁴ Both sources contain substantial errors of fact and judgement. It was necessary to translate a high number of Soviet books and articles written about Glière. The most detailed biography by Zoya Gulinskaya (1986) has been translated into English in its entirety (220 pages) and could well be published, with some amendments and references, in due course. This has never been attempted before. Older biographies by Natal'ya Petrova, Igor Belza, Konstantin Sezhenskii, and Sergei Bugoslavski were also translated. The most comprehensive source available in Russian, a two volume book of articles, reminiscences and materials edited by Valerian Bogdanov-Berezovsky,⁵ was only partially translated owing to its length. With a large quantity of Soviet sources now available through translation, it was

³ Stanley Dale Krebs, 'Reinhold Glière,' in *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1970), pp. 70-81.

⁴ Michael Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91' (University of Texas, 2001).

⁵ V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii, ed. *Reynhold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), 2 vols.* (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-7).

possible to research the composer Glière with a higher degree of accuracy and precision than before.

Sources

Scores from a wide array of Glière's works and related composers have been consulted. Many secondary sources quoted archival references mainly obtained from RGALI (Russian State Archives of Literature and Art) in Moscow. Pre glasnost sources did not have easy access to this resource and although Zoya Gulinskaya makes oblique references to 'the archives' she included no formal referencing in her book. It was necessary to translate a large amount of material from Russian to English. The whole of Gulinskaya's 1986 biography was translated as the work provided the most recent research and promised multiple insights from the access the biographer had to Glière's copious correspondence. Also invaluable was Bogdanov-Berezovsky's 1965-67 two volume compilation of 'Articles, Memories and Materials' which gave access to the direct thoughts of the main actors in Glière's life. Articles by David Persson, Mikhail Rittikh and Boris Zeidman were well referenced. The most scholarly articles were by Persson who referenced his sources meticulously; which raised the question why Gulinskaya (who provided no references) twenty years later, could not do the same. Certainly Elizabeth Souritz, whose book was translated into English, supplied copious references including archives and some of her material conflicted with Gulinskaya but also shed light on the complex intrigues which surrounded the production of *The Red Poppy*. English language autobiographies of Alexander Grechaninov and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov were consulted although regrettably the translation of the latter omitted Rimsky's references to Glière's First Symphony. Grechaninov's book provided valuable context to some events that were not immediately

obvious. A case in point is where Grechaninov explains what a ‘Rubinstein dinner’ (where many composers signed a denunciation of Tsar Alexander II in 1906) was.⁶

Methods

As mentioned, Finnish semiotician Eero Tarasti has provided a theoretical basis for analysis of the early programmatic works of Glière - *Les Sirènes* and Symphony No. 3 *Ilya Muromets*. In a 1979 study he discussed a semiotic approach to Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky. Chapter 7 of his book was entitled: ‘The Mythical in Liszt and Slavonic music’.⁷ It included a semiotic analysis of Borodin’s Second Symphony *Bogatyr*. Arguably this symphony was a model for *Ilya Muromets*, and Tarasti’s Borodin study enables a framework to be established. Tarasti’s method to identify motifs connected with mythological symbols (which occur in Glière’s symphonic poems) is complementary to the analyses of Mariya Leonova which identified certain factors but not the motivic structure that was a vital part of *Ilya Muromets*. Analyses of all three symphonies, *Les Sirènes*, *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman* have been undertaken.

Kofi Agawu’s approach to musical analysis has also been utilised. In *Music as Discourse* Agawu lays out various approaches. He dedicates the eighth chapter to an analysis of the first movement of Mahler’s Ninth Symphony.⁸ KyivKyiv.

⁶ The monthly dinner that was set up by Sergei Taneyev and his circle to commemorate Nikolai Rubinstein after his death.

⁷ Eero Tarasti, *Myth and Music : A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, Especially That of Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky*, Approaches to Semiotics (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), p. 131.

⁸ V. Kofi Agawu, *Music as Discourse : Semiotic Adventures in Romantic Music*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 253.

Meri Herrala applied the useful concept of Soviet subjectivism in her study of Soviet music. The theory was developed by historian Jochen Hellbeck who stated: ‘the individual adapted to living in Soviet society by mirroring his or her external social reality and adopting it with ‘self-construction and self-fashioning’. According to Meri Herrala this concept objectively interprets actors in the field of Soviet music rather than classifying them as positive or negative.¹⁰ Alex Ross expressed similar sentiments:

Untangling composers’ relationships with totalitarianism is a tricky exercise. For a long time discussion of Shostakovich revolved around the issue of whether he was an official composer who produced propaganda on command or a secret dissident who encoded anti-Stalinist messages in his scores. Likewise, people have pondered whether Prokofiev knowingly aligned himself with Stalinist aesthetics in order to advance his career or returned to the Soviet Union in a state of unknowing naïveté. Similar questions have been posed about Richard Strauss’s murky, unheroic behavior in the Nazi period, but they are the wrong ones to ask. Black-and-white categories make no sense in the shadowland of dictatorship. These composers were neither saints nor devils; they were flawed actors on a tilted stage.¹¹

Glière came under criticism for going to Azerbaijan and creating a western opera out of Azeri music. In his eyes it was an opportunity to support his friend, opera singer Shevket Mammadova and create more repertoire for the other western trained opera singers in Azerbaijan. Herrala again: ‘According to Soviet subjectivism, in Soviet socialist society everyone had to adapt to living, working, and composing according to several demands: the social and political system which shaped it, and the attempt to reconcile them with one’s personal beliefs and world view.’¹² Glière was doing precisely that in Azerbaijan.

¹⁰ Meri Elisabet Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948 Socialist Realism Vs. Western Formalism*, (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012). p. 21.

¹¹ Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise : Listening to the Twentieth Century* (London: Fourth Estate, 2012), p. 234.

¹² Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948 Socialist Realism Vs. Western Formalism*. p. 22.

The musical examples from *The Red Poppy* demonstrate Glière's use of motifs. The most developed character is Tao-Hoa who has two themes - one pentatonic (traditional), the other a combination of step-wise movement with wide leaps (minor seventh and major sixth) at the end of the phrase (Tao-Hoa the revolutionary). The other characters are less developed with one theme each – Tao-Hoa is the star of the show. The description of the ballet and its themes is intended to give the reader an understanding of the original version as later revisions and cuts can cause significant confusion (the one 'complete' recording is not the original version of the ballet).

The examples from *The Bronze Horseman* reveal a greater variety of themes with a more even balance between the characters than in *The Red Poppy*. The Russian setting of the ballet is evident with the quoting of a march and a folk song and the links with Russian folk music with the 5/4 rhythm familiar to wedding songs in the divination scene.

Structure

Chapter 1 consists of an introduction and a comprehensive literature review which investigates both Russian and non Russian sources. Chapter 2 is a biography of the composer which covers the important interactions between him and significant personalities in the Russian and soviet cultural scene.. Chapter 3 examines the political events which Glière encountered, how he reacted to them and the outcome. Chapter 4 surveys the first two symphonies and the symphonic poem *Les Sirenes*. Chapter 5 examines one of the composer's greatest works; Symphony no. 3 *Ilya Muromets*. Chapter 6 covers miscellaneous works. Chapter 7 is devoted to the composer's activities in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan and the opera *Shakh Senem*. Chapter 8 looks at the ballets of Glière particularly *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman*.

Delimitations

This thesis will not cover Glière's chamber music or lieder. The concertos for harp, coloratura and horn have been briefly mentioned but as they have already been the subject of academic studies in English it is not necessary to cover them in depth. Given the complexity and length of the Third Symphony, in depth analysis is not possible. As this is a multidisciplinary study, the depth of musical analysis cannot be expected to equal that of a specialist music thesis. Others can follow the analytical path. Operas written after *Shakh Senem* can only be mentioned in their historical context.

Literature Review

The problem with researching this composer is that virtually all English sources are tainted by serious errors. They are out of date, inaccurate or both. For example, the *Grove Music Online* (2009) entry on Glière is out of date by more than twenty years, as the latest (Gulinskaya) biography of Glière, published in 1986, was not even mentioned and some dates of the works are wrong (according to *Grove* the published date of *The Red Flower* was 1949. *The Red Flower* was completed in 1955 and was the third revision of *The Red Poppy*). The premiere of the opera *Shakh-Senem* in its first version (sung in Russian) was in 1927. This was not mentioned in *Grove*. Instead the date of the première of the second version (in Azeri) - 1934 was given. In comparison with its German equivalent published by *Bärenreiter*,¹³ the most authoritative music encyclopaedia in English is inadequate on the subject of Glière.

¹³ Friedrich Blume and Ludwig Finscher, *Die Musik in Geschichte Und Gegenwart : Allgemeine Enzyklopädie Der Musik*, 2., neubearbeit. Ausg. / ed., 21 vols. (Kassel, Stuttgart: Bärenreiter ;Metzler, 1994).

Albrecht Gaub in the German article provided accurate and up-to-date information on bibliography, dates of works and biographical details.

Even Wikipedia proves to be more accurate than Grove particularly about the composer's origins and although the English version has more detail than the Russian edition, the latter states specifically when Glière adopted Russian citizenship (1897) and provides documents to prove this.¹⁴

As an important Soviet composer Glière was the subject of several biographies (with multiple editions) dedicated to him. These were published in the USSR during his lifetime and beyond. Glière's first biographer was Sergei Bugoslavski, a former student of Glière, who produced a brief outline of the composer and his works in 1927. The author considered that the three symphonies of Glière were his most important works with the Third Symphony 'representing the highest level of development of the composer in the area of large form combining programme music with absolute music.'¹⁵ The book also included a German translation of the contents in the second half. Further editions were printed in 1930 and 1934. There is little in the nature of political rhetoric in Bugoslavski's account perhaps reflecting the relative freedom of the New Economic Policy years in the Soviet Union.

In 1935, a short biography described as a pamphlet by its author, Moscow Philharmonic administrator Konstantin Sezhenskii, celebrated Glière's sixtieth birthday and provided considerable detail about the musical abilities of the wider Glière family. Sezhenskii included information about Glière's time spent in Berlin studying conducting under Oskar Fried and the ill-fated debut of the Second Symphony.

¹⁴ Wikipedia, s.v. "Reinhold Glière," : https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Reinhold_Gli%C3%A8re&oldid=603688027 (accessed March 4, 2014).

¹⁵ Sergei Bugoslavskii, *Reingold Moritsevich Glier* (Moscow: State Publishing, 1927), p. 37.

The third Soviet biography of Glière appeared in 1955 – a year before the composer’s death. The author was Polish-born Igor Belza (1904-1994), a musicologist, composer and former student of Glière. This biography had limitations owing to the heavy political censorship prevalent at the time - the account of Glière’s origins was rather perfunctory with only one sentence devoted to them. As part of the anti-cosmopolitanism campaign in 1949, Belza and eight other musicologists had been denounced by the new head of the Soviet Composers’ Union, Tikhon Khrennikov, for ‘anti-patriotic, harmful activity, bent on undermining the ideological basis of Soviet music.’¹⁶ Belza’s biography was able to mention the fact that Reinhold Glière was born into a family of musical instrument makers but did not include Glière’s links with Germany. He did (or could) not mention that Glière had spent time in Berlin studying conducting after the 1905 revolution – biographical details seemed in short supply. The ballet *The Red Poppy* was hailed as a major achievement of revolutionary culture: ‘And for the first time by the means of musical choreography the composer personified the means of Soviet people, carriers of the high ideas of communism, daring champions for the celebration of social justice.’¹⁷ The book was a tribute not only to Glière as a composer but to him as a ‘builder of socialism’. The advantage of Belza’s effort was its comprehensive list of Glière’s works. It resembled an impressionistic study with what facts there were blurred by socialist realist rhetoric. Belza opted to concentrate on Glière’s works and provide somewhat inflated opinions about them.

In 1962 two studies on Glière were published. Mariya Leonova, provided analyses of Glière’s orchestral works (excluding the ballets but including the overtures for the operas

¹⁶ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970* (New York,: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 250.

¹⁷ Igor Belza, *R. M. Glier* (Moskva,: Muzykalnyi fond SSSR, 1955), p. 39.

Shakh-Senem and *Gyul'sara*) with the musical themes quoted and classified. The analyses were rather rudimentary but still useful for their descriptions of form, instrumentation and performance dates. Aspects of the analysis of the Third Symphony are open to question - the first three movements are supposedly in sonata form but because the symphony is very much a hybrid - a Straussian tone poem crossed with a late romantic symphony - any sonata form in the work is significantly modified and extended. The description of the 4th movement as being in free rhapsodic form seems to be more accurate.

In her biography, Leningrad musicologist Natalya Petrova, in conjunction with the composer himself, drew a fuller and more poetic picture of Glière than Belza had (or perhaps was able to). The book focused on Glière's connections with St Petersburg/Leningrad - the meetings with Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov and performances in pre-revolution St Petersburg and the great success of *The Bronze Horseman* ballet in 1949. Petrova stated that Glière's father Moritz, had settled in Kyiv circa 1862 but was not specific of his origins. Glière's visit to Europe at the end of 1905 to study conducting was included, as was the premiere of the Second Symphony in Berlin when Serge Koussevitzky launched his conducting career with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

The politics of Petrova's time were in evidence with *The Red Poppy* being primarily referred to by its then politically correct name *The Red Flower* – actually the third reincarnation of the ballet. The renaming of the ballet which was the third revision of the ballet made in 1955 (and first performed in 1957 a year after the composer's death), came reputedly after the protestations of an official Chinese entourage led by Mao Zedong in

1950.¹⁸ Issues of political correctness over the title of *The Red Poppy* receded when the Soviet Union broke with China in the 1960s and Rittikh's article on the ballets of Glière demonstrated that the name of the ballet was not an issue later in the decade.¹⁹

In 1965, various Soviet scholars produced a comprehensive reference about Glière as part of a series of 'articles, memories and materials' on various artists. This was a compilation in two volumes edited by Valerian Bogdanov-Berezovsky. The book included further work by Leonova on 'The Symphonic Creativity of Glière: Three Symphonies and Poems of Glière. This was accompanied by articles about the songs (I. Ozeretskovskaya), ballets (M. Rittikh), and Glière's activities in Uzbekistan (S Veksler) and Azerbaijan (B. Zeidman). D. Persson wrote about Glière's concert activities and used proper referencing of Glière's letters in contrast to Gulinskaya's 1986 biography. Leonova believed that the debut of Glière's Second Symphony in Berlin was spoiled by the inexperienced conducting of Koussevitzky who was making his debut with one of the best orchestras available at the time – the Berlin Philharmonic (which he had hired for a private concert with his wife's money). Leonova included many details about Glière's Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets*. She quoted Anglo/American conductor Leopold Stokowski: 'I frequently conduct your *Muromets* in various cities of America. It is a great sound poem expressing deep thoughts and feelings of Russia. It apparently has grown from Russian ground' (August 25, 1944).'²⁰ Stokowski usually cut Glière's symphony from eighty minutes down to sixty when he performed it but this apparently had the composer's permission.

¹⁸ Dieter Heinzig, *The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950 : The Arduous Road to the Alliance* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 363-364.

¹⁹ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol. 2 pp. 125-161.

²⁰ *Reyngold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol. 2 p. 26.

The most recent biography of Glière was by Moscow musicologist Zoya Konstaninovna Gulinskaya (married to Igor Belza). From Gulinskaya's introduction, it was immediately apparent that glasnost had arrived and Gulinskaya could write a biography without an editorial committee dictating her approach: 'The proposed book is the attempt to recreate as truthfully as possible and in more complete fashion the charming appearance of Reinhold Moritsevich Glière - man and artist, who so generously enriched the musical culture of our native land'.²¹ Gulinskaya explained that as Glière's family circle was widely spread in the Soviet Union and abroad, there were hundreds of letters written to and from the family. Between the composer and his wife Maria, there were over a thousand letters which served as a 'unique diary'. The biography according to its introduction, included valuable primary sources (in particular Glière's baptismal certificate from the Lutheran Church, Kyiv) to prove that Glière was of German/Polish descent rather than the Belgian/Jewish origins that had been previously claimed. This appeared to be the first time that any Soviet book had been so specific on Glière's ancestry. Although glasnost allowed Gulinskaya to research with more freedom than her predecessors her coverage of *The Red Poppy* was frequently inaccurate as Elizabeth Souritz's survey on Soviet choreographers revealed.²² Gulinskaya did not mention the reaction of the Chinese delegation to the ballet in 1950 which eventually led to the name being changed to *The Red Flower*. Gulinskaya's reasons for the name change were: 'to show a more expressive active, heroic role of the people in the development of the subject.'²³ This sentence would indicate that socialist realism had not been completely abandoned in 1986. Another problem in Gulinskaya's book was the lack of referencing. She quoted at length

²¹ Z. K. Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* (Moscow: Muzika, 1986), p. 6.

²² E. I. A. Souritz and Sally Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s* (London: Dance, 1990), pp. 231-254.

²³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 138.

from the Bogdanov-Berozovsky anthology without acknowledgement and the composer's letters were undated (unlike Persson's article in the anthology). There were some discrepancies between the Persson and Gulinskaya accounts but because of the former's superior referencing his article would seem to be the more reliable source.

Each Soviet biography reflected its unique political context from the relative freedom of the mid-1920s (Bugoslavsky), the Stalinist terror of 1935 (Sezhenskii), the beginning of the Khrushchev thaw in 1955 (Belza), late Khrushchev period 1962 (Petrova) to the glasnost of Gorbachev in 1986 (Gulinskaya). It seems that the most inhibited effort was that of Belza who was unable to include much of Glière's background at all. The most comprehensive biography was that of Gulinskaya who was able to include more background information than previous biographers.

Books on Russian and Soviet cultural history were a rarity until the breakup of the Soviet Union. Since then the field has benefited from the efforts of Russian expatriates as well as British and American historians. *St Petersburg: a Cultural History* was published in 1995 by a former student at the Leningrad Conservatory – Solomon Volkov. The author, whose book *Testimony* in 1979 had ignited a fierce debate about Shostakovich, emigrated to the United States in 1976. In the Soviet Union and the United States as a journalist, he had conducted interviews with Dmitri Shostakovich, George Balanchine and Joseph Brodsky among others. *Testimony* quoted Shostakovich supposedly criticising Glière and his ballets *Red Poppy* and *Bronze Horseman*, particularly the 'Hymn to the Great City' (the finale of *The Bronze Horseman*) which was played at Leningrad's Moskovsky station.²⁴ If Shostakovich was

²⁴ Solomon Moseievich Volkov, *Testimony : The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich* (London: H. Hamilton, 1979), p. 42.

quoted correctly, and there are considerable doubts about the text's veracity, his views on Glière would have been similar to some of his contemporaries. As Glière lived in Kyiv, then Moscow, a book written about St Petersburg culture was not likely to feature him - Glière was mentioned once. This was in one passage about Glière's ballet, *The Bronze Horseman*, when Volkov mentioned the fact that the epilogue to the ballet 'Hymn to the Great City' was taken up as an 'unofficial anthem of Leningrad'.²⁵ The figures of Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov (who became mentors of Glière) were prominent in the book, as was the Belyaev Circle (the successor of the Mighty Handful or Kuchka) which included Glière after 1900.

Co-authors Arthur and Elena George provided more detail about the playing of the finale to *The Bronze Horseman* played in Leningrad's railway stations. In an informative but not always accurate account, the connection between Glière and 'Hymn to the Great City' was confused. The authors seemed under the impression that the anthem had existed independently before Glière had appropriated the piece for his ballet *The Bronze Horseman*. This was not the case - Glière had composed the hymn as part of the ballet. Nevertheless, the information that the music was played at Moskovsky station in the 1950s whenever the Red Arrow train to Moscow arrived and departed proved enlightening.²⁶

In 2002, English historian Orlando Figes produced *Natasha's Dance*, a cultural history of Russia. In a chapter entitled: 'Russia through the Soviet Lens,' the work of Soviet composers in Central Asia was criticised. Figes believed that the synthesis of Russian and Central Asian styles led to: a 'strange sound of a wholly artificial national music.'²⁷ In the spotlight was Glière who had composed the first Azerbaijani (*Shakh-Senem*) and Uzbek (*Gul'sara*) operas.

²⁵ Solomon Volkov, *St. Petersburg : A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1995), p. 502.

²⁶ Arthur L. George and Elena George, *St Petersburg : A History*, Rev. pbk. ed. (Stroud: Sutton, 2006), p. 540.

²⁷ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance : A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), p. 506.

According to Figes *Gul'sara* employed: 'Uzbek folk tunes harmonised and orchestrated in the manner of Berlioz.'²⁸ As many national anthems, particularly in Central Asia, were composed with ethnic elements contained in an orchestrated classical structure, then the whole aesthetic of those anthems would appear to be: 'a wholly artificial national music'.

A Short History of Russian Music was published in 1915. Originally in French, the book was by French musicologist Arthur Pougin, who was able to demonstrate the advantage of considerable familiarity with the Russian music scene. Somewhat unusually for a European critic, the author found Glière's chamber music attractive. He believed: 'He is a musician whose career will be watched with interest.'²⁹ Perhaps Pougin's book was an example of enlightened European writing on Russian music which may have continued if links to Russia had not been disrupted by war and revolution.

English writer Montagu Montagu-Nathan included a chapter on Glière and Ippolitov-Ivanov in a book also titled *A Short History of Russian Music*. Glière was seen as 'not altogether wanting in a regard for the accredited founders of the modern school' but suffered from 'an absence of ruggedness from the treatment of the themes'.³⁰ '*Sirènes* ... has perhaps something of the commonplace in its harmonic colouring; in the orchestration, however we recognise that mastery characteristic of the young Russian.'³¹ According to Montagu-Nathan, Glière was sympathetic to Russian nationalism but had fallen too much under the influence of

²⁸ *Natasha's Dance : A Cultural History of Russia*, p. 506.

²⁹ Arthur Pougin and Lawrence Haward, *A Short History of Russian Music* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1915).

³⁰ M. Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music : Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Russian School of Composers, with a Survey of Their Lives and a Description of Their Works*, 2d ed. (London: W. Reeves, 1918), p. 287.

³¹ *A History of Russian Music : Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Russian School of Composers, with a Survey of Their Lives and a Description of Their Works*, p. 288.

Arensky 'that under a different influence he might have proved capable of more important things.'³²

Leonid Sabaneyev's *Modern Soviet Composers* included some contentious passages, particularly about composers who were seen as traditionalists. Glière was included in a chapter entitled: 'The Moscow Group of Conservatives'. As this book could well have provided the first information on Glière available to English-speaking readers, such passages as: 'He possesses exceptional lack of originality ... (sic.)' and 'His symphonies have been written in various styles: the first two approach Rachmaninoff, the third, *Ilya Muromets*, is rather an imitation of Scriabin's Third Symphony, *The Divine Poem*.'³³, were contentious.³⁴ The comparison of Glière's Third Symphony with that of Scriabin seemed hard to reconcile as although its second movement is Scriabinesque at times, the three other movements do not relate to Scriabin at all. Formally the two works would seem far apart. Scriabin's symphony was in three movements played continuously.³⁵ Glière's symphony was in four separate movements.³⁶ Perhaps Sabaneyev had solicited Scriabin's opinion on Glière as Taruskin commented: 'Sabaneyev had made a point of soliciting Scriabin's opinions for posterity on a wide variety of subjects ... with special emphasis on the music of Scriabin's contemporaries ... Sabaneyev would routinely submit scores to Scriabin and record his snap judgements, unfailingly negative or condescending.'³⁷

³² *A History of Russian Music : Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Russian School of Composers, with a Survey of Their Lives and a Description of Their Works*, p. 288.

³³ Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 11.

³⁴ David Fanning summed up Sabaneyev thus: 'As a writer he early on acquired a reputation, even among those not obviously his ideological enemies, for inconsistency, dogma, and cavalier approaches to accuracy.'

³⁵ Entitled: 'Struggles', 'Sensual Pleasures', and 'Divine Joy'.

³⁶ 'Wandering Pilgrims; Ilya Muromets and Svygotor', 'Nightingale the Robber', 'At the court of Vladimir the Mighty Sun', and 'The Heroic Deeds and Petrification of Ilya Muromets',

³⁷ Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 797.

Whether or not the opinions were Scriabin's or Sabaneyev's, an analytical comparison of the two symphonies would seem rewarding as the musical language of both works is influenced by Wagner's music dramas *Tristan und Isolde* and *Siegfried*. In fact, *The Divine Poem* was accused of being derivative and owing too much to Wagner when it was performed in 1905. Reflecting this, Taruskin believed that Scriabin's opening motto was based on Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* prelude.³⁸

Sabaneyev's *Modern Soviet Composers* was the first book to assert that Glière was of Belgian descent. The author did not provide any evidence for the claim but his account was accepted as a valid source in the West until well after 1986 when alternative evidence was produced.³⁹ Professor David Fanning noted that for many years Sabaneyev's text had been the only source available in English dealing with the subject of Soviet composers.⁴⁰

No translator was credited in *Modern Soviet Composers* but it transpires that the book was translated by Judah A. Joffe for its American publishers. Although Sabaneyev's Russian was ornate and at times obscure, a different translator may have imbued the first two paragraphs with more clarity: 'The author could not treat certain phenomena with as much detail as might be possible in a book for Russian readers...' In the next paragraph the author stated: 'On the other hand, the author deemed himself obliged to explain a series of phenomena and facts more minutely than would be necessary in the interests of a Russian reader.'⁴¹ As the author (or translator) did not define what he meant by 'phenomena', the two statements would seem contradictory. It appears that Sabaneyev's text requires considerable interpretation rather than being taken at face value. Even if Sabaneyev's English was

³⁸ *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 331.

³⁹ Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ David Fanning, 'Erinnerungen an Alexander Skrjabin,' *Music and Letters* 2006, p. 472.

⁴¹ Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 11.

eccentric, the book offered illuminating perspectives on Stravinsky and Scriabin – composers who he knew personally.⁴²

The English writer Gerald Abraham, who tended to specialise in nineteenth century Russian and Slavonic music, produced a book about Soviet composers in 1943 to give information: ‘about the music of our Soviet allies...’.⁴³ This small book mainly consisted of Abraham’s contributions to publications such as *The Gramophone* and *The Music Review*. Abraham relied on Soviet sources such as *Sovetskaia muzyka* for most of his information. The surprise is that, of the eight composers chosen, neither Glière nor Nikolai Myaskovsky were included and yet Ivan Dzerzhinsky whose opera *Quiet Don* played a major part in the denunciation of Shostakovich in 1936 was. Abraham explained his criteria: ‘... Russian musicians have to thank a small group of composers, not men of the first rank but artists well-equipped technically... these men were Glazunov, Steinberg, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Myaskovsky and Glière...’.⁴⁴ Abraham saw this group of composers as teachers rather than composers on their own merits.

Also in 1943, Rena Moïsenko’s *Twenty Soviet Composers* appeared under the auspices of The Workers’ Music Association based in London. A whole chapter was devoted to Glière. A major point of interest was the writer’s account of Glière’s origins: ‘This universally famous Master Musician of USSR is principal composer, promoter and organiser of opera in his native Azerbaijan’.⁴⁵ Despite a detailed description of Glière’s activities in Azerbaijan and his opera *Shakh-Senem*, the author made no effort to mention any of the composer’s activities

⁴² *Modern Russian Composers*, pp. 16-17.

⁴³ Gerald Abraham, *Eight Soviet Composers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 7.

⁴⁴ *Eight Soviet Composers*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Rena Moïsenko and Workers' Music Association London., *Twenty Soviet Composers* (London: Workers' music association, 1942), p. 30.

outside Azerbaijan. Moisenco included two Ukrainian-born composers: Oles Chishko, and Isaak Dunayevsky but Glière was not among them. It appears that Soviet Nationality policies dictated Glière's country of origin in this instance. It is also likely is that the book was rushed into print without proper editing. The president of the Workers' Music Association, English composer Alan Bush, presumably would have been well aware of Glière's place of birth. A more considered effort by the same author appeared in 1949 this time mentioning that Glière had been born in Kyiv but still maintaining that he was a native of Azerbaijan!⁴⁶

Since World War Two, English and American writers tended to concentrate on the 'Mighty Handful' and later Tchaikovsky (at the expense of other contemporaries, particularly Rubinstein and Rimsky-Korsakov). The Belyayev circle of Russian composers (of which Glière became a member) which quickly superseded the Kuchka, was barely covered at all in Western literature. Due to the efforts of Diaghilev and the *Ballets Russes*, the talents of Stravinsky and Prokofiev were showcased to a Western audience in Paris. Apart from the quality of his music, Shostakovich had always been of interest to Western musicologists from the time of his humiliation at the hands of *Pravda* in 1936 to the controversy of his *Babi Yar* symphony in 1962.

In 1956, American author Richard Leonard wrote a history of Russian music which purely relied on historical sources that had been previously translated into English. Sabaneyev's 1927 overview of Soviet composers appeared to be the source of much of his historical material. Accordingly, Glière was described as being of Belgian origin with no supporting evidence. Otherwise Glière was given coverage by Leonard with a detailed description of the

⁴⁶ Rena Moisenco, *Realist Music : 25 Soviet Composers* (London: Meridian Books, 1949), p. 88.

Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets* (which had been championed in the United States by Leopold Stokowski) although the author believed: ‘that Glière was not a great enough artist to treat this wildly fantastic, ultra-Russian subject with the originality it deserved.’⁴⁷ Leonard described the symphony in terms of ‘Borodin’s bardic style’, Rimsky-Korsakov’s fairy-tale apparatus, ‘Wagner’s sensuous chromaticism’ and ‘Scriabin’s ecstasies’. Glière’s music was thus described in terms of other composers rather than his own individual style. Specific works of Wagner or Scriabin were not quoted and the comparisons would have been more valid had this been done.

Perhaps reflecting the cultural stasis of the Cold War period, it was not until 1970 that further books on Soviet music appeared. Stanley Krebs devoted a chapter to Glière in his book about Soviet composers. The biographical overview of the composer was the most extensive that had appeared so far in English. There were some idiosyncrasies in the book however. There was no mention of the most successful Glière symphony, Symphony No. 3 *Ilya Muromets*. Although this was a pre-Soviet work, it should have been mentioned at least for contextual reasons. On the other hand, the far less significant First and Second symphonies are included. Glière’s racial origins were described as Belgian-Jewish by Krebs without evidence for this.

Krebs briefly describes Glière’s symphonies, ballets and operas with rather more emphasis placed on the concerti. Great play was made on the fact that Glière wrote the first Russian/Soviet cello concerto. In fact Myaskovsky’s cello concerto predated the Glière by some months but strangely Krebs’ chapter on Myaskovsky does not even mention the existence of Myaskovsky’s concerto for the instrument. More importantly Glière wrote his

⁴⁷ Richard Anthony Leonard, *A History of Russian Music* (London: Jarrolds, 1956), p. 351.

cello concerto for Sviatoslav Knushevitsky (as did Myaskovsky) who was a member of the David Oistrakh Trio. The rise of the phenomenally gifted Mstislav Rostropovich eclipsed the somewhat erratic Knushevitsky and Glière subsequently dedicated his concerto to the younger cellist who toured the country playing the concerto.

The book contained further errors; for example: ‘Of the three ballets written during the twenties: *Komedianty ... Cleopatra*, 1925, and the *Red Poppy*, 1926-7; it was the latter which was to be hailed as the foundation of Soviet opera (sic.)’⁴⁸ A more significant error was the claim that Glière’s music for *Gyul’sara* was based on Tadjik music. As the first performance was held in Tashkent using Uzbek actors and Uzbek national instruments playing Uzbek melodies, Krebs was wrong.⁴⁹ In the programme notes for a 1997 recording of the overture to *Gyul’sara*, by David Nice the Tadjik misconception was repeated.⁵⁰

Reflecting some of the Soviet opinion of the time, Krebs was rather critical of Glière’s activities in Azerbaijan when he wrote the opera *Shakh Senem* (1927). Of the opera Krebs said: ‘Although *Shakh-Senem* contains some fine music, what Glière helped establish was not the Azerbaidzhanian(sic.) school of opera, but, rather, the tradition of Great Russian hegemony over the Azerbaidzhanian minority(sic.)’⁵¹ This view coincided with Orlando Figes’ post-Said opinion and that of Frolova-Walker. Krebs has recently been criticised for his Myaskovsky coverage.⁵²

⁴⁸ Stanley Dale Krebs, *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), p. 73.

⁴⁹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 146.

⁵⁰ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière et al., *Overtures & Orchestral Works*, (Essex, Colchester, England: Chandos,, 1997), sound recording, 1 sound disc : digital ; 4 3/4 in., Chan 9518 Chandos.

⁵¹ Krebs, *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music*, p. 74.

⁵² ‘Krebs’s pioneering study *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* one of the few English-language publications to deal with his work in any detail is equally unsatisfactory, if for very different reasons. Writing from a Cold War perspective, Krebs’s account of Soviet music is in its own way as ideologically tendentious as Livanova’s, since one of the principal aims of his book is to demonstrate what he purports to be

Also published in the 1970s was *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970* by St Petersburg-born violinist and musicologist Boris Schwarz,⁵³ who was able to undertake research in the Soviet Union. Schwarz produced the most comprehensive and accurate account of the music scene in the Soviet Union up till then. Glière's ballet *The Red Poppy* (1927) defined thus: 'The essentially traditional - score is colourful in its contrast of East and West, juxtaposing socio-political and lyrico-personal situations.'⁵⁴ Schwarz also referred to the opinion of Austrian theatre critic Herbert Graf who was not so positive - he described the music as 'sweetish and objected to the use of conventional ballet techniques for the expression of new ideas.'⁵⁵ Later, the ballet had been slated in an article by Yuri Brodersen: 'as a vulgar example of opportunism'.⁵⁶ All of these opinions were valid to a point but as Schwarz observed, 'the ballet became a milestone in the evolution of Soviet ballet'.⁵⁷

The Schwarz book provided extensive coverage of Soviet works up to the 1940s but after this period, the focus changed to address the cultural politics of the time. Consequently Glière's later works were not included by Schwarz so his portrayal of Glière was only fleeting. Nevertheless, the book was a revelation in its time as very little material about Soviet music in this detail had been available. Furthermore, there is no counterpart about Russian music in the early twentieth century before the revolution. Although the two books by Krebs and

the overwhelmingly negative and sterilizing effects of Soviet cultural policy on musical creativity. Myaskovsky's music is characterized in dismissive terms as mere 'running water' and is held to display 'an almost total lack of feeling for originality'. The composer, we are told, 'had always chosen a route of conformity'. Patrick Zuk, 'Nikolay Myaskovsky and the Events of 1948' *Music and Letters* 93, no. 1 (2012): p. 84.

⁵³ Also a violinist - Schwarz was concertmaster of the Indianapolis Symphony and a member of Toscanini's NBC Orchestra in New York.

⁵⁴ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 74.

⁵⁵ *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 74.

⁵⁶ Yuri Brodersen, 'Искусство И Тринадцатый Октябрь [Art and the Thirteenth of October],' *Рабочий и Театр [Worker and Theatre]* (1930).

⁵⁷ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 74.

Schwarz are complementary, the extra accuracy and balance of Schwarz in a potential minefield is far superior.

The only member of Glière's generation who received much attention in the West, was composer/pianist Sergei Rachmaninov whose profile as a performer and composer was high in the West as he had lived in Europe and the United States since 1917. Even so, the lack of Russian sources left gaps in the coverage of Rachmaninov and despite some more modern attempts, the most relevant English-language source about Rachmaninov was by Sergei Bertensson in 1956. Rachmaninov is important to the history of Glière as both composers were in Germany at the same time and collaborated in an important concert in 1908 when Koussevitzky made his conducting debut with Rachmaninov playing his Second Concerto. Although some details of this concert were given by Bertensson, it was not mentioned that Glière's Second Symphony was one of the works also performed.

Richard Taruskin's *Defining Russia Musically* aimed to dismantle many of the myths that had been created by previous generations of writers on Russian music. In relation to Glière it may have created some new ones. Taruskin described Glière as: 'a composer old enough to be a Belyaevets fellow traveller half a century earlier, who had hardly modified his style since then ...'⁵⁸ To demonstrate the impact of Zhdanovshchina⁵⁹ in 1948, Taruskin contrasted the style of Glière's pre-1948 Cello Concerto with that of the post-1948 Horn Concerto which he described as a 'proprietary offering'.⁶⁰ In evidence, Taruskin quoted a review by Soviet musicologist Marina Leonova describing the Horn Concerto:

⁵⁸ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 98.

⁵⁹ The Zhdanov affair was an ideological campaign against many Soviet composers including Shostakovich, and Prokofiev launched in January 1948.

⁶⁰ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 98.

It contains practically no psychological or emotional contrasts; even placid, and of cheerful character, its predominantly major tonalities, diatonic harmonies, and bright instrumental timbres are maintained over the course of its three movements.⁶¹

Taruskin's point was that the crisis of 1948 had forced Soviet composers to write in an innocuous and proscribed style. He chose to ignore Leonova's next sentence which showed the concerto in a different light: 'But the composer shows great ingenuity in contrasting different textures and skilfully "exhibits" the solo instrument, finding in its sound a variety of registers, timbre and technical effects.'⁶² Michael Misner had a positive opinion about the Horn Concerto: 'What makes the *Concerto* a beautiful work are the melodic themes. His melodies also are based on the melodic style of Tchaikovsky. They are energetic and lyrical yet passionate.'⁶³

As both concerti were written in close collaboration with the soloists, the differences in style between cellist Sergei Knushevitsky and horn player Valery Polekh were closely reflected in their respective concertos. It is the Horn Concerto which is more popular than the Cello Concerto in today's concert repertoire with many recordings available - impressive for a 'proprietary offering.' The Cello Concerto is rarely performed or recorded - in fact Mstislav Rostropovich who was the Cello Concerto's dedicatee (after he persuaded Glière to do so), was cynically inclined to proscribe the concerto as punishment for wayward students on account of its length and technical demands.⁶⁴ Better evidence of how Glière was affected by the events of 1948 would come from a comparison between the Cello Concerto and *The*

⁶¹ *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 98.

⁶² Marina Leonova, 'Simfonicheskoye Tvorchestvo Gliera,' in *Reynold Moritseovich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), ed. V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii (Leningrad: Muzika, 1967), vol. 2 p. 63.

⁶³ Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 93.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Wilson, *Rostropovich : The Musical Life of the Great Cellist, Teacher, and Legend* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008), p. 307.

Bronze Horseman. There are demonstrable thematic relationships between the two works and as the ballet was performed after the crisis, there are aspects of the score which could well have been influenced by political events. Taruskin's point about the effect of 1948 on Glière could well have had a bearing on the Horn Concerto and it is noticeable in the music for *Taras Bulba* that there are stylistic differences between this music and *The Bronze Horseman*. Some of these differences may have due to declining powers of the composer and his increasing dependency on a music team led by Boris Lyatoshinsky but a more simplistic style was definitely adopted for *Taras Bulba*.

Parallel to Taruskin's exhaustive research on Russian music, German musicologist Dorothea Redepenning has written extensively on the subject, although most of her work remains untranslated into English. Redepenning's encyclopaedic *Geschichte der russischen und der sowjetischen Musik* (1994) covered up to the end of the nineteenth century (despite the title). The sequel (in two volumes), which dealt with the twentieth century, appeared in 2008. In a sub-chapter entitled 'Symbolic Ideas and Traditional Composers', Glière, Steinberg, Medtner and others were a group of composers who, the author believed, responded to the spirit of the Silver Age by occasionally setting symbolist poetry to music, but in principle they felt that they should continue in the traditions of Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov.⁶⁵

Redepenning noted that Glière's father was German (in contrast to Sabaneyev) and after a description of the three symphonies, drew attention to two symphonic poems, *Sireny* and *Trizna*. The latter was based on Pushkin's *Song of Oleg the Wise*. Written over the period

⁶⁵ Dorothea Redepenning, *Geschichte Der Russischen Und Der Sowjetischen Musik Band 2 Das 20. Jahrhundert Texte Imprimâe*, *Geschichte Der Russischen Und Der Sowjetischen Musik* (Laaber: Laaber, 2008), p. 63.

1911-1917, *Trizna* was Glière's last symphonic work before the revolution and remained unfinished. An investigation of the music would perhaps reveal how much the composer had to modify his style after the 1917 Russian Revolution. Redepenning also mentioned Glière's success in the 1920s with the ballet *The Red Poppy*. She believed that Glière used obsolete models for the ballet, but due to the pleasantness of the music, achieved great success with the public and the Party: 'In the first two seasons it had more than 200 performances at the Bolshoi Theatre and remained untouched by cultural and political changes in the repertoire, because stylistically, it can be reconciled with the criteria of Socialist Realism without difficulty.'⁶⁶ Redepenning was critical of Glière's opera *Shakh-Senem* which was described as 'extensive orientalism orchestrated in the St Petersburg style' and a product of questionable Soviet policies towards art in the non-Russian republics.

In 2003, Belgian Francis Maes published his version of Russian music history - from Glinka to Shostakovich. Originally published in Dutch, the book lacked the detail of Redepenning or Schwarz and tended to cover the cultural politics of the time rather than provide the thorough overview of the period implied in the title. Some of Maes' information about Glière (and Myaskovsky) was incorrect. Referring to the 1920s, Maes stated: 'The conservatories, however remained in the hands of the traditionalists: Glazunov (until 1928) and Maximilian Steinberg in Leningrad, Ippolitov-Ivanov in Moscow, and Glière in Kyiv.'⁶⁷ Actually in 1920 Glière was invited to take a position of Professor (of composition and polyphony) at the Moscow Conservatory and resigned his post in Kyiv. Maes also failed to

⁶⁶ *Geschichte Der Russischen Und Der Sowjetischen Musik Band 2 Das 20. Jahrhundert Texte Imprimâe*, p. 274.

⁶⁷ Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music : From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* (Berkeley ; Los Angeles ; London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 244.

accurately cover the attempted dismissal of Nikolai Myaskovsky, Reinhold Glière and Aleksandr Gnesin from the Moscow Conservatory in 1931:

RAPM gained influence in the conservatories as well. The curriculum was radically revised, and such composers as Myaskovsky, Glière, and Gnesin were dismissed from their professorships.⁶⁸

This was not the case. Neil Edmunds covered the incident more accurately:

A number of changes were taking place ... in the Moscow Conservatory because of the increased influence of RAPM. Most notably Myaskovsky, Glière and Gnesin decided to take leave from their teaching duties.’⁶⁹

Glière was sent an invitation from Baku for the revision of *Shakh Senem*, and in November 1931 he arrived in Azerbaijan. For two and a half years he worked on the new revision and wrote extra music. During most of this period, Glière stayed in Baku, only occasionally leaving for Moscow Conservatory sessions with students and leaving to perform in concerts in other cities. Maes also failed to note that RAPM was abolished in 1932 and Myaskovsky and Glière returned to their positions.⁷⁰

Belgian Frans Lemaire’s account of Soviet and post-Soviet music is in French. Lemaire seemed to be familiar with Gulinskaya’s Glière biography and having an interest in the racial origins of Soviet composers, emphasised the composer’s mixed ancestry. His conclusions were somewhat unorthodox: His father established himself in Kyiv as an instrument maker probably coming from Liège. The baptism certificate of his son Reinhold was recently discovered in the Lutheran church in Kyiv giving rise to the thought that they were converted

⁶⁸ *A History of Russian Music : From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, p. 253.

⁶⁹ Neil Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 103.

⁷⁰ *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement*, p. 107.

Jews.⁷² To comment, there was more evidence in Gulinskaya to link Moritz Glière with the Saxon town of Klingenthal (as Glière's descendants claim) than Liège. Although Lemaire mentions the Gulinskaya book, he did not discuss the consequences of her evidence and the effect this had on his theories. No evidence was quoted by the Belgian musicologist for any Jewish connection.

As Poland was very much in the Russian orbit before the 1917 Revolution, Glière had many links to Polish musicians. Ukrainian-born Karol Szymanowski was perhaps the most famous of them. Born of a Polish father and German mother near Kyiv, ethnically and geographically Szymanowski had much in common with Glière. In 1999, Alistair Wightman produced a study of the Polish composer which used many original sources in the original language. The book chronicled a meeting between Glière and Szymanowski. This was in 1915 during World War One when Szymanowski was offered a post at the Kyiv Conservatory by Glière: 'Glière is still a young man – very sympathetic and full of the best intentions – ardently wishing to turn the conservatoire into a first class institution.'⁷³ Gulinskaya described an earlier meeting between Szymanowski, the Polish conductor Fittelberg and Glière at a Baltic resort near Riga when Glière was invited to Poland in 1910 although Wightman did not mention this episode. Nevertheless he did provide some biographical detail of Glière from Polish sources which were apparently not available to Soviet researchers.

Biographies and diaries of Prokofiev provided valuable insights into some of the personal life of Glière and his family. David Nice's *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West 1918-1935*

⁷² Frans C. Lemaire, *Le Destin Russe Et La Musique : Un Siècle D'histoire De La Révolution à Nos Jours*, Les Chemins De La Musique ([Paris]: Fayard, 2005), p. 582.

⁷³ Alistair Wightman, *Karol Szymanowski : His Life and Work* (Aldershot, England ; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999), p. 140.

(2003) revealed the personality of Glière who taught Prokofiev music privately in 1902 when the young prodigy was eleven: 'Prokofiev's first impressions were of a pleasant chap to be with and not taking up a lot of space'⁷⁴.

Prokofiev's diaries were even more illuminating. In 1910, the young composer described a visit to Moscow: 'Moscow was a mad whirl of activity. I stayed with the Glières; Goldik was conducting his Second Symphony so the whole family was in an uproar, the children were bawling, everyone was rushing madly up and down. Eventually the performance took place, and the post-concert supper went on to four o'clock in the morning, even though I had to perform the following day.'⁷⁵ Initially he appeared positive about his teacher and his music. By 1911, however, Prokofiev was to form a less favourable opinion of his former teacher's music even though he still freely accepted the Glières' hospitality: 'Arriving in Moscow in the morning I went straight to the Glières and dropped off my suitcase there, as I planned to spend two days in Moscow; in such circumstances I always stay with the Glières.'⁷⁶ By 1914 Prokofiev was even more critical: 'Met Yurasovsky in the artists' room and followed the performance of Glière's symphony from the score he had with him. What ponderous, boring music it is.'⁷⁷ Prokofiev was to keep these thoughts private as he maintained good relations with Glière throughout his life.

⁷⁴ David Nice, *Prokofiev : From Russia to the West, 1891-1935* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 16.

⁷⁵ Sergey Prokofiev and Anthony Phillips, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries, 1907-1914 : Prodigious Youth* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006), p. 153.

⁷⁶ *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries, 1907-1914 : Prodigious Youth*, pp. 208-209.

⁷⁷ *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries, 1907-1914 : Prodigious Youth*, p. 604.

In 2007, Cambridge-based Marina Frolova-Walker discussed the role that Glière played in aiding cultural development (or westernisation) in Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.⁷⁸ For her the opera *Shakh-Senem* was a result of the composer's collaboration with the Azerbaijan Minister of Education, Mustafa Kuliyeu, and she described Glière's efforts thus: 'He set about the task conscientiously, studying the various folk styles made available to him, and provided Kuliyeu with a solid foundation for his project.'⁷⁹ Yet in a subsequent chapter, *Shakh-Senem* was described as having 'set a precedent for complacent Orientalism in the genre'. Chronologically, Frolova-Walker was not strictly accurate when she described Glière as having completed *The Red Poppy* ballet before he undertook the *Shakh-Senem* project in Azerbaijan⁸⁰. Glière went to Azerbaijan in 1923 - three years before *The Red Poppy* was started. Frolova-Walker also laid out the negative side of Glière's work in the Central Asian republics observed in the Saidian sense that the Soviet Union was a colonial power forcing its aesthetic on Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. On the other hand it was initially Western- and Russian-trained artists in Azerbaijan who requested Glière's involvement. This was clearly stated in Gulinskaya.⁸¹ Earlier chapters in the book were successful - so much so that the book is regarded as equal in stature to the work of Schwarz and Taruskin. Frolova-Walker wished to correct what she saw as Western myths about Russian music:

Russian classical music is now a ubiquitous presence in the world's concert halls, and with increasing frequency in the opera houses. The mystique of the music's Russianness is a powerful selling point, now as much as ever. For more than ten years, as a Russian in the West, I have attempted to speak and write about Russian music without taking advantage of this mystique; indeed, on the contrary, I have

⁷⁸ Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 301-355.

⁷⁹ *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 321.

⁸⁰ *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 321.

⁸¹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 109.

frequently discussed the process of mystification in the open, in order to undermine its hold on the musical public, and even on surprisingly many musicologists. This book is a summation of these efforts.⁸²

Frolova-Walker's book has been particularly important to this study, not least because of her ability to strike a balance between Soviet-style hagiography on the one hand and equally problematical Western perspectives on the other.

If there was any doubt about the importance of Glière to the Soviet music establishment, Kiril Tomoff dispelled this in his book about Soviet cultural politics. Tomoff writes about the Union of Soviet Composers which Glière headed from 1939 to 1948. Glière's role in the organisation was a vital one although much of the work was done by Khachaturian his deputy.

Tomoff's revisionist coverage of the 1948 Zhdanovshchina is important for a nuanced understanding of events. He maintains that all English sources (including Schwarz) are inadequate:

All of these accounts together provide an adequate description of the events of 1948 but they fail to give a satisfactory explanation of why or how they happened. Such an explanation required investigating the archives when they opened after the collapse of the Soviet Union.⁸³

Using a similar methodology to Tomoff, Simo Mikkonen provided a complementary account of Soviet music in the 1930s and armed with archival evidence also challenged several aspects of Schwarz's accounts. Glière is prominent throughout the study as a leading figure in the Moscow Composers' Union.

⁸² Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. vii.

⁸³ Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 122.

A thesis by Michael Misner dealing with Glière's Horn Concerto included some useful biographical details about the composer although lacking clarity over nationalities and names. Despite his access to valuable new biographical information on the wider Glier family from Joerg Schnadt of Potsdam, he seemed ambivalent on the stance he should take. His unquestioning decision to quote Krebs verbatim stating that Glière was Jewish: 'Despite Reinhold's talents, or because of it, Glière's parents were not enthusiastic about their children's (sic.) following musical careers. They knew well the shortcomings of a Jew in the Ukraine'⁸⁴ was contradicted by editorialising: 'In regards to the idea that Reinhold was Jewish, the author found no evidence of a conversion to that religion as a child or as an adult.' Misner's biography also contained some significant historical inaccuracies, e.g.: 'Glière returned to Moscow in 1907 and resumed his short-lived conducting career.'⁸⁵ Glière actually returned to Moscow in the early summer of 1908 after the unsuccessful premiere of his Second Symphony in Berlin. Misner's sources Sezhenskii⁸⁶ and Krebs,⁸⁷ do not state that Glière returned to Moscow in 1907. It was not until 1908 that Glière returned to Moscow and he did not start conducting until 1913 in Kyiv. Prior to that he had been teaching at the Gnesin School and working on his *Ilya Muromets* symphony. Access to Russian sources would have minimised historical errors. Misner included Gulinskaya's arguably authoritative biography in his bibliography but it was not evident that this source had been consulted, although Glière's baptism certificate (published in Gulinskaya) was replicated. None of the earlier Soviet sources on Glière were included in the bibliography. Other errors included the

⁸⁴ Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 11.

⁸⁵ 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 15.

⁸⁶ Konstantin Sezhenskii *R.M. Glière*, First ed. (Moscow: Ogiz, 1935), p. 10.

⁸⁷ Krebs, 'Reinhold Glière,' p. 72.

assumption that Glière had not been affected by Zhdanovshchina⁸⁸ in 1948. A notable omission from Misner's biography was Glière's student Boris Lyatoshinsky who was to play an increased role in the older composer's last years. After Glière's death, Lyatoshinsky completed the Violin Concerto from sketches left by Glière. Other errors included the danger inaccurate claim that Glière's Cello Concerto was the first for the instrument by a Soviet composer(it was preceded by Myaskovsky's concerto premiered on 17 March 1945).

It is evident that the most comprehensive sources on Glière have had to be translated from Russian but as work on the culture of Russia and the Soviet Union accelerates and more archives are revealed, picture should surely emerge of men and women of creative genius who struggled with and made the best of a totalitarian system. Often their flaws of character led them to be accused of cowardice (in Shostakovich's case) or collusion (Tikhon Khrennikov) but until a balanced perspective emerged these accusations were mono-dimensional. Each biographical source painted a picture of its chronological context and could almost read as a history in cultural politics without their subject. Similarly with the benefit of hindsight the efforts of Western musicologists to make sense of Russian and Soviet music without the advantage of regular cultural exchanges or contact with Soviet migrants (save the odd defector) and the enormous ideological gulf that existed between the two regardless of any empathy, seemed ill-informed but was this a reflection of the cultural gulf between Western Europe and Eastern Europe?

The figure of Reinhold Glière is rarely encountered in English studies but this is part of a bigger problem - the lack of English-language scholarship on Russian/Eastern European culture until the 1990s. The political divide between the Western and Soviet blocs played its

⁸⁸ The Zhdanov affair

part in stifling lines of communication and perhaps it was no accident that scholarship on Russia and Eastern Europe improved after the break-up of the Soviet Union. After 1989 as a result of greater freedom of movement and information, more insightful and better informed books on Russian music began to appear.

Chapter 2 Reinhold Glière Biography

Ethnic Origins and Identity

Gulinskaya's biography of Glière provides new information about Glière in an important aspect - the ethnic identity of the composer. The clarification of this controversial area became possible as a result of glasnost and the break-up of the Soviet Union. Gulinskaya's glasnost era research provided many answers and these were able to be augmented with information from members of the wider Glier family in eastern Germany.

Reinhold Glière's ethnic origins have been debated for much of the twentieth century. Neither of his names was Slavic leading to constant speculation about his family origins. At various times Glière has been listed as of Belgian, Jewish, and most bizarrely Azeri⁸⁹ nationality. Under current boundaries he would be classed as a Russian-speaking Ukrainian. In the multi-ethnic Soviet Union certain nationalities had to be downplayed and two wars with Germany complicated matters.

Some of the conjecture was downplayed by the composer as his true origins could have led to problems in a dangerous political environment. Adding to the confusion Leonid Sabaneyev, forced to leave the Soviet Union in 1927, embroidered the story somewhat and misled generations of Western musicologists. The picture was only clarified in the glasnost period when open discussion was permitted about ethnic origins in the Soviet Union.

In 1875 Reinhold Ernst Glier (as his name was then) was born in Kyiv during the reign of Alexander II. At that time the city was ethnically diverse (Russian, Polish, Jewish and German as well as Ukrainian) in what is now Ukraine.

Partly as a result of the Crimean War in 1853-56, Alexander instigated limited reforms including the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. Polish nationalism was not tolerated however and many demonstrators were killed in Warsaw that year which caused discontent in Kyiv's St Vladimir University. Further serious unrest erupted in 1863 leading to insurrection amongst Kyiv's 8,000 Poles. Eventually 80,000-100,000 Poles were exiled and estates seized. Amnesty was not granted until 1896.⁹⁰ The status of Poles in Kyiv must have had some effect on the Glier family as Josefina Thekla Korchak - Reinhold's mother - was Polish.

⁸⁹ Moisenko and Workers' Music Association London., *Twenty Soviet Composers*, p. 30.

⁹⁰ Michael F. Hamm, *Kiev : A Portrait, 1800-1917* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 75.

The scaling down of Polish influence in Kyiv and Ukraine generally since 1865 in Tsarist Russia was to change dramatically after East Galicia (Western Ukraine) joined Poland and Poland became an independent state after the Russian Civil War in 1917. It meant that Poles had a homeland which was important for Ukrainian-born Poles, such as composer Karol Szymanowski and violinist Paul Kochański, who left Ukraine for Poland. Both of Glière's brothers kept their German nationality and even left Russia after the 1917 Revolution. Reinhold had taken out Russian citizenship in 1896. According to Mikkonen Germans and Poles had been regarded as the enemy since World War One and musicologist Boleslav Pshibyshevskii who had been rector of the Moscow Conservatory from 1929 to 1932 was executed in 1937 for his German origins.⁹¹

The Soviet Union forcibly merged ethnic identities and their much more efficient secret police (compared with the Tsarist Okhrana) mostly managed to suppress nationalism in the various republics of the Soviet Union until the end of the Cold War. Therefore the ethnic origins of Glière were largely unknown until the Gorbachev era, allowing biographer Zoya Gulinskaya to reveal (particularly) the German ancestry of Glière.⁹²

Since 1990 and the unification of the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD) and the Democratic Republic of Germany (DDR) members of the Glier family living in Potsdam have published evidence that the composer's father Moritz Glier had been born in Klingenthal, Saxony (south of Zwickau). Reinhold had been baptised on January 19, 1875 in the Protestant Lutheran Church of Kyiv by Pastor O. Koenigsfeldt. In 1897 Glière russified

⁹¹ Simo Mikkonen, *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), p. 338.

⁹² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 8.

his name from Reinhold Ernst to Reinhold Moritsevich and changed his family name circa 1900 to Glière for artistic purposes when he was first published in Europe.

Leonid Sabaneyev's *Modern Soviet Composers* was the first source to assert that Glière was of Belgian descent: 'Reinhold Glière (born 1874) of Belgian origin ...'⁹³. The author did not provide any evidence for the claim but his account was accepted as a valid source in the West until well after 1986 when alternative evidence was produced.⁹⁴ David Fanning noted that for many years Sabaneyev's translated text had been a major English source for Soviet composers:

Sabaneyev continued to write energetically in exile, having virtually a regular column in *The Musical Times* between 1928 and 1940. But he did not escape the fate of so many of his fellow exiles—of being an un-person in his homeland and a virtual non-person (at least by comparison with his previous prominence) in his adoptive France. Yet his survey *Modern Russian Composers* (New York, 1927, reprinted 1975) continues to be read, not least because it provides the only significant English-language coverage of early Soviet music from the time of its composition.⁹⁵

Presumably that is why English (and some American) reference books maintained that Glière was of Belgian ancestry whereas comparable sources in German have referred to Glière's German ancestry. Could Sabaneyev alone have been responsible for the story about Glière's Belgian connections? Certainly none of the Soviet biographies of Glière mentioned anything about Belgian ancestry – on the contrary Gulinskaya produced tangible evidence to prove that Glière's father was from Germany and his mother Polish.⁹⁶

Frans Lemaire seemed to link Sabaneyev's theories with those of Gulinskaya:

⁹³ Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 219.

⁹⁴ *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 11.

⁹⁵ Fanning, "Erinnerungen an Alexander Skrjabin," pp. 471-473.

⁹⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 8.

His father established himself in Kyiv as an instrument maker probably coming from Liège. The baptism certificate of his son Reinhold was recently discovered in the Lutheran church in Kyiv giving rise to the thought that they were converted Jews.⁹⁷

To comment, there was more evidence in Gulinskaya to link Moritz Glier with the Saxon town of Klingenthal (as Glière's descendants claim) than Liège. Although Lemaire referred to Gulinskaya's biography he did not discuss the consequences of her evidence and the effect of this on his theories.

The authoritative German music dictionary *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* had no qualms in dismissing any speculation about Glière's origins:

Die verbreitete Ansicht, der Komponist, sei belgischer oder französischer Abstammung, ist so wenig haltbar wie die Behauptung, die Gliers seien Juden gewesen. Die französisierte Schreibweise des Namens sowie das kyrillische Äquivalent ,umgedrehten e sind gleichwohl verbürgt und .wurden von R.Glier spätestens ab etwa 1900 ausschliesslich angewandt.⁹⁸

[The widespread view that the composer was of Belgian or French descent is as unsustainable as the claim that Gliers were Jews. The French spelling of the name and the Cyrillic equivalent, with inverted e is was applied exclusively by R.Glier at the latest from about 1900.]

.
By exclusively the dictionary meant that other family members including Reinhold's two brothers retained the Glier spelling.

Glier Family Musical Origins

The musical side of the Glier family goes back to Johann Gottlieb Glier (1777-1840) a brass instrument maker who was born in Markneukirchen, Vogtlandkreis region, Saxony. He

⁹⁷ Lemaire, *Le Destin Russe Et La Musique : Un Siècle D'histoire De La Révolution a Nos Jours*, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Blume and Finscher, *Die Musik in Geschichte Und Gegenwart : Allgemeine Enzyklopädie Der Musik*.

settled in nearby Untersachsenberg in 1799. Johann Glier had three sons – Johann Wilhelm, Friedrich Wilhelm and Carl Friedrich who all followed the family craft. Friedrich Wilhelm opened an instrument shop in Warsaw. Carl Friedrich was a horn maker and also a travelling salesman for his instruments. In 1824 he married Christine Körner and had six sons. The third son Ernst Moritz learned the craft of horn making from his father. In 1854 he travelled to Warsaw and served an apprenticeship with his uncle Friedrich Wilhelm. After becoming a master of his craft he went to Kyiv Kyiv and worked for the Polish instrument maker Vincenz Korczak Korchak and married Josefina Thekla Korczak, his daughter in 1868. They were presented with a wedding gift of two houses and the instrument factory.⁹⁹

Life of Reinhold Glière (1875-1912)

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine in 1875, Reinhold Glière was the third of four children born to Ernst and Jozefina (nee Korchak) Glier. These children were Moritz (1870-1932) followed by sister, Tsetsiliya (1872-1899), Reinhold (1875-1956) and Karl Josef (1877-1945). Ernst Glier (1834-1896), born in Klingenthal, Saxony, on what is now the border between Germany and Bohemia (Czech Republic), made German-style brass instruments - primarily horns for bands and orchestras. The premises of the music shop were located at 6 Ulitsa Basseinaya. The building was also the residence of the Glier family and many tutors and students of the

⁹⁹ Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Glière's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 6.

Kyiv College of Music.¹⁰⁰ Ernst had perfect pitch and could play the horn to a high standard.¹⁰¹ He also played the instruments that he could repair - trumpet, flute and clarinet.¹⁰² His oldest son Moritz learnt the cello at the Kyiv College of Music and daughter Tsetsiliya (Cecilie) took piano lessons but Reinhold, the third born child, found it more difficult to get music lessons - the family business struggled financially when Moritz's health declined. Glière later wrote: 'Father was ill, orders were not carried out in time and the business suffered, in spite of the efforts of my grandfather, and after his death the firm went into permanent decline.'¹⁰³ Hence the money for Reinhold and his younger brother Karl to learn music was not then available.

According to Gulinskaya, Reinhold's German paternal grandparents were still living'.¹⁰⁴ but this information contradicts the research of Glière descendant Jörg Schnadt who discovered that Glière's paternal grandparents never travelled to Kyiv from Germany and both died in Klingenthal – Christine Fredericke in 1844 (although Carl remarried Christiana Eleonora Krauss in 1845, she died in 1873) and Carl Friedrich in 1876.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, if Schnadt's research is correct, it surely must have been the maternal grandparents to whom Gulinskaya was referring. Vincenz Korczak was Polish, from Warsaw and according to record his wife Anna Cwiklińska was also Polish. However Gulinskaya quotes Glière himself: 'My grandmother was a very strict German woman.'¹⁰⁶ Who is this German

¹⁰⁰ Sezhenskii *R.M. Glière*, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7)*, Vol 2 p. 13.

¹⁰² Reinhold Glière and Bavarian composer Richard Strauss both had fathers who played the horn. Strauss' father Franz was a virtuoso horn player for the Munich Court Orchestra. Both Strauss and Glière wrote horn concerti that are firmly established in the horn repertoire.

¹⁰³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Email to the author

¹⁰⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 11.

grandmother? The household was multi-lingual - from an early age Reinhold was taught Russian and Polish by his mother and possibly German by his grandmother.¹⁰⁷ It is at this point that biographies of Glière seem to diverge. Gulinskaya's account stressed the discord between senior family members over the family business and the fact that they needed craftsmen who could fix and tune instruments not musicians. The family did not have the money to pay for lessons 'from even mediocre musicians'.¹⁰⁸

Natalya Petrova's version of events differs: 'The father noticed his son's enthusiasm and Reinhold was soon on his own little violin and a neighbour, student of the music school started him off.'¹⁰⁹ The neighbour's name was Konstantin Vout. Furthermore Petrova stated that when a more experienced teacher was required, the pupil's parents invited the St. Petersburg Conservatory violinist Adolf Weinberg to teach Reinhold. Soon, along with teacher and brother Moritz on the 'cello, Reinhold could participate in the quartet evenings held regularly at the home of Weinberg and Glier. On the other hand Gulinskaya maintained that: 'For the first time the boy took up the violin and bow when he was eleven years old',¹¹⁰ However, another biographer David Persson stated that lessons began in 1884 when Glière was eight.¹¹¹

The disparity between Glière's biographers continues – although both Sezhenskii and Petrova stated that Glière's first teacher was Adolf Weinberg, Weinberg was not even mentioned in Gulinskaya's book. Glière's first teacher is not named specifically by her but

¹⁰⁷ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Natal'ya Efimovna Petrova and Reingol'd Moritsevich Glier, *Рейнгольд Морицевич Глиэр, 1875-1956. Краткий Очерк Жизни И Творчества. Книжка Для Юношества. [with Illustrations, Including Portraits, and with Musical Examples.]* (Ленинград, 1962), p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 9.

¹¹¹ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7),* p. 301.

described thus: ‘He was an old fiddler, selflessly devoted to music, even though he was only teaching a child and merely wanted to buy his favourite dogs new collars for his efforts.’¹¹² Persson named the old fiddler as Nuremberg and maintained that the lessons started in 1884. In Gulinskaya, Nuremberg is mentioned as a teacher of harmony that Glière went to in order to prepare for the Moscow Conservatorium. The old fiddler described hardly fits the description of Weinberg who was born in 1844 and was the warden of the Lutheran church that the Gliers attended. Therefore the fiddler Gulinskaya described was presumably living adjacent to the Gliers in the same building with other staff of the music college. Although eleven (even Persson’s eight is relatively advanced) is a very late age to commence violin lessons; given Glière’s talent it would have been possible to achieve the high standard required for the Moscow Conservatory in 1896. Growing up in a highly stimulating musical environment as he did (having been exposed to a variety of sounds from the workshop at an early age) plus Glière’s work ethic lessened the disadvantage of starting instrumental tuition relatively late. Although the opportunity to become a child prodigy piano virtuoso was not available to Glière, he was spared the harsh regime that Scriabin and Rachmaninov had been subjected to by the authoritarian Nikolai Zverev who ran an elite youth academy connected to the Moscow Conservatory. Also Glière was able to maximise the advantages of his early aural training and exposure to the sounds and peculiarities of brass and wind instruments.

In 1891 Glière entered the Kyiv School of Music where his violin teacher was Czech violinist Otakar Ševčík. Music theory and harmony was taught by Evgeny Ryb, a former student of Rimsky-Korsakov. Despite the resistance of his grandmother: ‘She believed a man

¹¹² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 9.

must put work above all else,¹¹³ and other relatives, Reinhold passed his sixth year school examinations and considered leaving the gymnasium to attend the Kyiv music college. He was even more set on a musical career after the visit of Peter Tchaikovsky to Kyiv on 21 and 22 December 1891 when the by now world famous composer was conducting concerts of his music for the Russian Musical Society. Tchaikovsky was fresh from the triumphs of *The Sleeping Beauty* ballet and *The Queen of Spades* which premiered in 1890-1891 and a short tour of the United States of America. *The Nutcracker* was still a work in progress when the composer conducted his Third Suite for orchestra, *1812 Overture* and the Entr'acte and dances from the early opera *Voyevoda* in Kyiv.

Some of the students of the music school were granted a back-stage audience with Tchaikovsky and Glière met the composer. Writing about the experience, Glière said:

For the first time I felt that music brings joy not only to a narrow range of enthusiasts but that musical experience is able to capture and integrate a broad mass audience - the art of the composer can gain universal acceptance and love. This complex set of impressions was the last push and decided my fate.¹¹⁴

The experience of meeting Tchaikovsky (two years before his death in 1893) galvanised Glière into seeking a compositional career. In an effort to learn more about music, Glière began to attend all the performances he could. He heard choral ensembles, which were numerous in Ukraine, symphony concerts and opera performances. Dargomyzhky's *Rusalka*, Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* and Borodin's *Prince Igor* were the first locally-staged works that he saw, he noted that the most impressive performance was the Borodin opera. With its striking chorus and ballet numbers, the impact of *Prince Igor* was considerable on the

¹¹³ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 11.

¹¹⁴ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière 11.

eighteen year old student.¹¹⁵ Glière's intense concert-going activity combined with study and the almost daily public performances of chamber and instrumental ensembles fuelled a passionate desire to write music: 'At the Kyiv music college, I wrote two quartets, an orchestral overture, and a number of pieces for piano and cello.'¹¹⁶ The Kyiv music college did not have full conservatory status and soon Glière realised that to achieve his ambition of becoming a composer he had to leave Ukraine. In addition to this his violin teacher Otokar Ševčík had left the school. So Glière decided to go to Moscow. Aware that material support from his parents would be minimal, he was determined to go despite considerable resistance from the family. According to Petrova, the Gliers did not support his intentions and tried to delay his departure. In contrast his grandmother, who fought for the musical future of her grandson, vigorously took his side and promised to send 25 roubles per month.¹¹⁷ Was this the same grandmother who tore his sheets of music paper at tea time as quoted in Gulinskaya?¹¹⁸ Around this time the business was handed over to the eldest son Moritz who was unable to run it as his father had.

In 1894 at the age of nineteen Glière went to Moscow to audition for the Moscow Conservatorium – he was accompanied by cellist Oscar Asperger and his wife Charlotte who promised to look after Glière there. For the examination Glière played a technically

¹¹⁵ *Prince Igor*, based on *the Lay of Prince Igor*, which was set in the Don region of Southern Russia circa 1200, depicted the skirmishes between the Rus and the Turkic Polovtsi tribes. On stage Borodin portrayed the Polovtsians in an exotic, oriental fashion which tended to overshadow the purely Russian scenes. The *Polovtsian Dances* is the most popular number from the opera and was staged by Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* in Paris. Glière's first opera *Shakh-Senem*, based on Azeri folk music had many similarities to *Prince Igor* not least its ballet numbers.

¹¹⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 12.

¹¹⁷ Petrova and Glier, *Рейнгольд Морицевич Глиэр, 1875-1956. Краткий Очерк Жизни И Творчества. Книжка Для Юношества. [with Illustrations, Including Portraits, and with Musical Examples.]*, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 11.

demanding Spohr violin concerto in D minor for Vassily Safonov¹¹⁹ the director of the Conservatorium. Then he was given an oral examination on musical theory with Safonov leading a panel of examiners. Glière had expected to meet distinguished composers Sergei Taneyev and Anton Arensky, both former pupils of Tchaikovsky, but they were not present at the audition. Glière passed his audition successfully and was initially taught violin by Nikolai Sokolov but was soon transferred to the classes of Czech violinist Jan Gřimalý one of the founders of the Russian school of violin playing. To study composition was still his primary aim and he wished to study counterpoint and fugue from Taneyev. Before he could do so he had to pass Arensky's *Kuchka* (Mighty Handful) harmony class. Glière proved so adept in this subject that he was able to assist Arensky by helping those students with less harmonic ability. When Arensky resigned from the Conservatory and was appointed director of the Imperial Choir in St Petersburg, Georgeii Konius took over the harmony classes.

It appears that Glière was so diligent at his studies that he earned a nick-name as the 'grey-haired old man.' [седовласый старец] amongst his friends.¹²⁰ Indeed his ability with harmony was such that classmate Yuri Sakhonovsky offered Glière accommodation in return for harmony lessons. Reinhold was pleased to move out of a tiny room, where violin practice was impossible, to the more spacious quarters of the Sakhonovsky family home on the Tverskaya Zastava. This enabled Glière to take on other students and he was also allowed access to the Sakhonovskys' extensive music library. Sergei Rachmaninov who had lived at the house in his conservatory years, also on exchange for harmony lessons (and had been

¹¹⁹ Safonov was a pianist, conductor and musicologist who prepared several critical editions of Berlioz's music

¹²⁰ Petrova and Glier, *Рейнгольд Морицевич Глиэр, 1875-1956. Краткий Очерк Жизни И Творчества. Книжка Для Юношества. [with Illustrations, Including Portraits, and with Musical Examples.]*, p. 16.

nursed through major illness by friends there¹²¹) was a frequent visitor. Often he would play Chopin, Liszt and his own compositions on the Sakhonovskys' grand piano. Glière was impressed with Rachmaninov's playing: 'He played amazingly well ... producing a highly hypnotic effect on listeners. Even then he was a true magician of the piano.'¹²² A life-long friendship was forged between Glière and Rachmaninov who were the same age. Glière was soon showing his compositions to Rachmaninov who gave helpful advice to him and Sakhonovsky and was not afraid to be highly critical. Rachmaninov was vastly more experienced musically - he had arranged Tchaikovsky's symphonic poem *Manfred* for piano in 1888, which had impressed the great composer and had achieved great success with his graduation piece, the opera *Aleko* in 1892. Glière later remarked that Rachmaninov was particularly critical of Sakhonovsky's compositions but it was highly likely that Rachmaninov had given Sakhonovsky assistance for his successful graduation cantata 'The Erlkönig'.¹²³

In 1897 Glière dropped his violin classes to study free composition and orchestration with Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov. Ippolitov-Ivanov emphasized the importance of being familiar with folk music of the region. This was based on his experiences as director of music in Tiflis (Tbilisi), Georgia where he had produced his most famous work: *Caucasian Sketches* (1894). Accordingly Glière studied Russian folk songs which had been collected by Mihaly Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov and Yuliy Melgunov and absorbed them into his own compositions.

¹²¹ Sergei Bertensson and Jay Leyda, *Sergei Rachmaninoff : A Lifetime in Music*, Russian Music Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 37.

¹²² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 17.

¹²³ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynhold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol.1 p. 353.

Taneyev had been appointed as director of the Moscow Conservatorium with the influential support of Tchaikovsky in 1885 but was to step down in favour of Vassily Safonov in 1891. Early in his career Taneyev when studying with Tchaikovsky had proposed developing a new Russian national school separately from the St Petersburg-based *Kuchka*.¹²⁴ When Tchaikovsky died suddenly in 1893 the great composer's mantle was symbolically passed on to his favourite protégé Taneyev who proved to be outstanding in the field of counterpoint and pedagogy. Although Taneyev wrote four symphonies of these only his Fourth Symphony is performed. David Brown rated the symphony highly and thought it was 'among the finest Russian symphonies'.¹²⁵ His vocal works included an opera *Orestia*, but it was his liturgical cantatas which were perhaps his most successful works - *John of Damascus* Op 1 and *Upon Reading a Psalm* Op. 36. Taneyev's prestige was such that he was able to select personally who he took in his classes. Only those who had passed elementary harmony of the *Kuchka* with distinguished grades, were eligible to enrol in his strict style counterpoint classes. He was an expert on counterpoint grounding his theories in the music of JS Bach, Palestrina and Josquin and was to write a two-volume treatise, *Imitative Counterpoint in Strict Style*.¹²⁶

Later Glière paid tribute to his former teacher's qualities:

Taneyev wielded immense powers of persuasion impressing his audience of students. We got a complete picture of the most difficult polyphonic scores of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ... He was able to clearly distinguish polyphonic voices, delineating with clarity all intertwining melodic lines.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Mighty Handful or 'The Five' – epithet invented by Vladimir Stasov to describe the Russian Nationalist School of composers.

¹²⁵ Robert Layton, *A Companion to the Symphony* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1993), p. 280.

¹²⁶ Serge Ivanovich Taneev, *Convertible Counterpoint in the Strict Style* (Boston: B. Humphries, 1962).

¹²⁷ Gulinskaya, Reinhold Moritseovich Glière p. 19.

Glière was also taught *znamenny chant*¹²⁸ by the director of the Moscow Synodal School, Stepan Smolensky who also stressed the importance of folk music: ‘Deeply and carefully study folk song - it is an inexhaustible source of creativity.’¹²⁹ Smolensky also warned young composers against the blind imitation of even the most outstanding masters and said they should gain their originality from folk music. Glière was subsequently more aware of the Polish and Ukrainian songs which he had heard in Kyiv. ‘The annual summer trips to the family in a village near Kyiv, where the air rang with songs, I made friends with the rich folk music of Ukraine, enriched by deep, unforgettable experiences. It was the elemental force of *narod* [folk art], which seized involuntarily my mind, shaped my musical performances.’¹³⁰ As was customary, Glière spent summers in Svyatoshino near Kyiv in the country with his grandmother who was helping him financially in Moscow. He would read aloud German poems and letters of Bismarck to (Kaiser) Wilhelm to her.¹³¹ This is evidence that Glière was fluent in German as well as Russian and Polish.

Glière’s first Conservatory pieces were for string ensemble. Opus 1 was a string sextet in D minor (for two violins, two violas and two cellos), written in 1898 and dedicated to Taneyev. The sextet was admired by Taneyev and Ippolitov-Ivanov for its melodic qualities and the Russian-sounding finale. Other works for string ensemble composed during this period were String Quartet No 1 (1899) and an octet for 4 violins, 2 violas, 2 cellos (1900).

In 1899 he wrote his first string quartet (Op. 2), dedicated to Conservatory violinist friend and later conductor Konstantin Saradzhev. On December 20, 1899 at Saradzhev’s home his

¹²⁸ Russian orthodox plainchant

¹²⁹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 19.

¹³⁰ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 21.

¹³¹ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 21.

student ensemble, including Glière on viola, played the first movement of Glière's new quartet in the presence of Taneyev. At the same time Glière composed a string octet (in D Major, Op. 5) for four violins, two violas and two cellos. It was played in chamber music class by Jan Gřimalý and with his participation, the octet made a good impression. On Glière's birthday - January 11, 1901 - the octet was first performed in a concert of the Russian Musical Society organised by the Moscow Conservatory with the participation of Professors Gřimalý (violin) and Alexander von Glenn (cello) and brothers Michael and Joseph Press and others. The most ambitious work in this period was his First Symphony – his first orchestral piece. The symphony which was first performed in 1902 was an impressive debut for the budding symphonist. The symphony in the key of E flat major was written for a Tchaikovsky-sized orchestra (triple woodwind) and was dedicated to Safonov, who was its first conductor. The most memorable movement is the second - a balletic scherzo in 5/4 time, a time signature that is often used for Russian wedding songs as well as being employed by Tchaikovsky in *The Sleeping Beauty* and the second movement of his Sixth Symphony. Already Glière's lyrical melodic style is established with the use of solo woodwinds and the skilful manipulation of orchestral textures.

Glière had experienced some problems with Taneyev over the symphony:

Recalling Taneyev as a teacher, I still think he was a bit too exacting towards the work of his pupils. He was particularly intransigent in demanding a precisely defined tonal plan for every work. I remember how he tore my first symphony to shreds: 'You have to change this; remove the C-major episode from the development; transpose these themes, and so on.' I was dumbfounded. From then on I avoided showing him my work in progress, and only after a work was published would I submit the score to him.¹³²

¹³² Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra*, p. 170.

The relationship between Taneyev and Glière was changing where Taneyev was becoming more of a mentor than a teacher. Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov gave more general and (to Glière at the time) more helpful advice but this was in the relaxed setting of the Belyayev Circle. On the other hand Rimsky-Korsakov could be just as heavy-handed to his own students. The symphony appears to owe more to Glazunov (who helped Glière prepare the symphony for performance) than either Rimsky-Korsakov or Taneyev. This could be due to Glazunov having written six symphonies of recent provenance providing convenient models for Glière. The first movement of the symphony was performed at the Conservatory in a benefit concert.

Later Glière was to say about his style:

I could not link my aspirations with the classic style. Only one subject in the finale sounds Russian. With much greater freedom and skill, I approached this issue in the First Symphony and First String Quartet. All movements of these pieces were written in the Russian spirit, the Russian national character, I think, managed to survive and in polyphonic development, and in harmony, and, finally, the general mood of the music. In this case, I did not set myself the task of writing required in the Russian or Ukrainian-style. I have not belonged to any club or school. But I was attracted precisely to such a direction in music. I could not and did not want to think differently, speak a different language. My childhood experiences were enriched by later experiences of my conscious music scene, these images and intonation lived in my mind. These images and intonation were for me the most natural way of artistic expression of my thoughts and feelings.¹³³

Despite his non-Russian background, Glière was very much a defender of the Russian national style much as the equally non-Russian Vilnius-born Maximilian Steinberg (a future teacher of Shostakovich) was to become; their conservatory training helped to convince them of the advantages of the style. In contrast the more modernistically-minded Igor Stravinsky

¹³³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 23.

did not enter the St Petersburg Conservatory but studied law and took private lessons with Rimsky-Korsakov instead.

While Glière was studying in Moscow three deaths were to devastate his family. First Glière's maternal grandfather Vincenz Korczak died, then his father Ernst Glier passed away in 1896 leaving the eldest son Moritz to take charge of the family business. He was a poor manager and the youngest son Karl had to take over the factory at the exhortations of his mother leaving the Saxon Army to do so. The third was the most traumatic - in 1899 Reinhold's pregnant sister Tsessa was murdered, shot by her estranged Army Officer husband at her mother's house where she had taken refuge leaving behind three young children. Gulinskaya believed that these family tragedies together with the political problems in Russia at the time led Glière to decide that he did not wish to portray his inner tragedies in his compositions:

To transfer one's gloomy mood to the music I consider a crime. The life of most people is too difficult in itself, and if art will spoil those moments that humanity has dedicated to rest, then it will lose that sense of higher purpose and that which it alone can achieve.¹³⁴

Instead Glière sought a sense of solace and repose in his music. This caused him to largely reject dissonance and what he saw as deliberate complexity as an excuse for novelty which typified much of the avant-garde of the time.

After Graduation

In 1900 Glière graduated from the Moscow Conservatory with a gold medal for his oratorio *Heaven and Earth*, a mystery play based on the book of Genesis adapted by Lord

¹³⁴ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 24.

Byron. He also realised that to be a good composer he required more knowledge and skills. He began an intensive programme of self-education in literature and philosophy, and embraced the poetry of Pushkin, Schiller, Goethe and Heine. It seems that Glière was developing an interest in German literature and searching for appropriate texts to set to music.

In 1900 Taneyev recommended Glière for a teaching post at the Gnesin School where he started teaching harmony. The school (now the Gnesin Musical Pedagogical Institute) had been founded in 1895 by three sisters – all graduates of the Moscow Conservatory - pianists Elena, Evgenia and Elizaveta Gnesina. At first the school had little money but the sisters' energy and creativity established the school on solid foundations. Twenty percent of the places were allocated to the children of people who could not afford tuition fees. It was at the Gnesin School that Glière met his future wife, Maria Robertovna Renquist whose father was of Swedish ancestry. Maria Robertovna was a pianist and an aspiring composer studying at the school. They were married on April 21, 1904.

Meanwhile Taneyev was becoming a major advocate for the works of his former student. On September 25, 1900, he wrote to St. Petersburg's musical philanthropist Mitrofan Belyayev:

Two years ago Glière graduated from my class, he wrote the second part of a string sextet for the exam. The remaining parts of the sextet, he wrote in the transition to class of Ippolitov-Ivanov ... Knowing Glière as I do, who has acquired an excellent technique in the chamber style ... I would really like to have this sextet and in general his chamber music evaluated by composers in St. Petersburg, and would be very grateful to you if you play through the work on one of your evenings. He will send the music of the sextet and string quartet to Kryzhanivskiy who is involved in your quartet.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 37.

Glière was pleasantly surprised to hear that Belyayev was interested in his chamber works, and the music was duly copied and sent. Kryzhanivskiy subsequently reported that his sextet had been performed twice and Glazunov had praised it highly. Belyayev had also liked the sextet - he gave out the music to be performed in the quartet meeting, and sent a telegram to Glière with the message that ‘rehearsal would be on Monday morning’, inviting him to arrive on Sunday and stay with him.

Belyayev was a millionaire who founded a music publishing house which he contracted to Roeder in Leipzig and dedicated it to print the works of Russian composers. The decision to base the printing in Leipzig was an indication of the high standards that Belyayev expected. At that time Leipzig was the major printing capital of Germany and hosted most of the German music publishers.

Glière was treated well by Belyayev:

Mitrofan Petrovich welcomed me very warmly, in a fatherly way. My first conversation was with him about music - more precisely, of chamber music, a passion of Belyayev's. Being a good violist, he was a regular participant in an amateur quartet ensemble.¹³⁶

As a courtesy Glière paid visits to Belyayev's musical advisers Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Anatoly Liadov and Alexander Glazunov. The visits were very brief and almost official, but Glière realized how much weight that Taneyev's recommendation had carried. On Friday, Reinhold Moritsevich was present at Belyayev's next house concert and again met with the three composers. Also there were composers Nikolai Tcherepnin, Alexander Scriabin, and conductor Felix Blumenfeld. They listened to quartets by Beethoven and Glazunov, and then had dinner. The atmosphere was relaxed and convivial. The evenings had been established in

¹³⁶ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 38.

1883 and continued until 1908, four years after Belyayev's death. The pattern was described by Bowers:

Evenings began at 11.00. Food was served at 2:00 in the morning. Guests never dispersed before 3:00, and even then pockets of them adjourned to an hotel restaurant and continued their musical carousing until dawn.¹³⁷

This was elaborated by Kryukov:

Meetings took place every week on Friday, and always included quartet playing. Music-making gave way to conversations, debates, exchange of news. The evening dragged on well past midnight and ended with dinner.¹³⁸

Taruskin described the advantages for a composer joining the Belyayev Circle at the time:

The circle became to all intents and purposes a guild, to which the better members of the circle's existing membership were routinely initiated. Admission to the circle (signified by invitation to the Fridays) practically guaranteed well-remunerated publication by Edition Belaieff, Leipzig, and performance on the Russian Symphony Concerts programs... It provided composers willing and able to conform to its standards and ideals with virtual cradle-to grave insurance.¹³⁹

On December 6, 1900, Glière's sextet was performed, and was successful with the public. In the audience were Rimsky-Korsakov, Anatoly Liadov, Glazunov, Vladimir Stasov and many other musicians of St. Petersburg, interested in hearing the young Moscow composers. 'I, of course, was very nervous for my work' remembered Glière, 'but Belyayev was worried even more. He experienced every phrase, every chord ...'¹⁴⁰

After the concert, Belyayev told the composer about publication procedure, stressing that he required a piano transcription of a piece before he would publish it. Glière was reluctant to

¹³⁷Faubion Bowers, *Scriabin : A Biography of the Russian Composer, 1871-1915*, 1st ed., 2 vols. (Tokyo Palo Alto [Calif.]: Kodansha International, 1969), p. 192.

¹³⁸ Andrei Nikolaevich Kryukov, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov*, Russkie I Sovetskie Kompozitory (Moskva: Izd-vo "Muzyka, 1982), p. 41.

¹³⁹ Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 39.

do this as he did not want to spend time on transcription and lacked ability as a pianist. Fortunately for Glière, Belyayev made the effort to find a transcriber himself. Belyayev was also interested in Glière's first string quartet and this was performed on December 20. Then, Belyayev reported: 'A pianist began transcribing your quartet (on his own initiative) and is up to the finale, and I am glad. When he has finished, can I send it to you there for your approval?'¹⁴¹ Soon Glière began to compose a new sextet. Belyayev fussed about the preparations for the printing of Glière's quartet and octet.

Good Reinhold Moritsevich! Eureka! Found a musician who is looking for transcriptions! His name is Ivan Chernov ... He was a disciple of the local Chapel, he graduated with Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and reviews about him as a musician are commendable. Now it depends on you. Enter into correspondence with him ...and submit your transcriptions for the octet.¹⁴²

Belyayev was also interested in the score of the First Symphony, and songs. Belyayev paid composers well, and Glière remarked: 'There is a serious risk of becoming a wealthy person.'¹⁴³

Taruskin was critical of the Belyayev Circle for its undue emphasis on chamber music and instrumental music over vocal forms such as lieder and opera. Yet Belyayev appeared to be interested in Glière's songs. Taruskin's criticisms continued:

Within the Belyayev circle a safe conformism became increasingly the rule, and mediocrity flourished, especially as the need to fill four concert programs a year with new Russian works made it necessary to dip rather deep into the pool of available Conservatory-trained talent.¹⁴⁴

Even more trenchant criticism came from Taruskin: 'The cultivation was in every way a hothouse growth, subsidized by the Belyayev fortune and increasingly divorced from the

¹⁴¹ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 39.

¹⁴² Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 39.

¹⁴³ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra*, p. 57.

realities of the surrounding world.¹⁴⁵ Solomon Volkov believed: ‘the majority were merely erudite composers, whose works were derivative.’¹⁴⁶

Although the Belyayev Circle had its flaws, it produced the New Russian School and was responsible for the flowering of many fine works. Soviet musicologists expressed positive opinions about the Belyayev Circle as did American Scriabin biographer Fabion Bowers. Six months later, Glière’s sextet was performed by Russia’s best string players – Hungarian violinist Leopold Auer and cellist Alexander Verzhbilovich. Again Glière went back to St Petersburg to hear his sextet played by the finest performers. At this time Glière wrote many of his 130 songs. For texts Glière set many contemporary poets – Konstantin Balmont, Ivan Bunin, Daniel Rathaus, Stepan Skitalets (Petrov), Dmitri Merezhkovsky, Mirra Lokhvitskaya; most of these were symbolist poets of the Russian ‘Silver Age’. Rathaus was a favourite of Glière’s possibly because he met him in Kyiv. Glière’s songs immediately won wide popularity with the public and entered the practice of home music-making (in Mikhail Bulgakov’s novel *The White Guard* Elena Vasilievna heard the song Op. 28 No. 5, ‘To live, we live!’).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Volkov, *St. Petersburg : A Cultural History*, p. 349.

¹⁴⁷ Mikhail Bulgakov and Michael Glenny, *The White Guard*, Vintage Classics (London: Vintage Books, 2006), p. 301.

Ex 2.1 Glière Op. 28 No. 5

„Жить-будем жить!“ VII „Lebt! lebt euch aus!“

Слова Г. ГАЛИНОЙ. Deutsch von Lina Esbeer. Worte von G. GALINA.

Музыка Р. ГЛИЗЕРА. Op. 28, № 5. Musik von R. GLIÈRE.
(1906 г.)

Оригинальное издание.

Ноты с сайта - www.notarhiv.ru

Canto. *Allegro. ♩=106.* *f*

Жить — бу-дем
Lebt! lebt euch

Piano *Allegro. ♩=106.* *f*

mf

жить! И от судь-бы возь-мем хо-тя од-
aus! Ent-ringt dem Schick - sal kühn nur ei - nen

p

- ну вес-ну, хо-тя од-но мно-ве-
einz' - gen Lenz, nur Zeit zum Blitz - ge - dan - ken;

Glière's First Visit to Europe

Reinhold Glière and Maria Rehnquist were married in Nicholas Church at the Moscow Engineering College on April 21, 1904. Immediately the couple embarked on a honeymoon tour of Europe for the summer. The first stop was Warsaw; then they hoped to visit Prague, Vienna, Italy and Switzerland. These plans had to be revised when Reinhold became ill in Prague and the doctor advised rest and relaxation in Italy. They decided to stay on the Venetian island of Lido and took a secluded cottage on the island by the Adriatic Sea, and walking and swimming helped the composer to recover his health. Glière examined the Doge's Palace, heard mass in St. Mark's and visited Art Galleries. Maria travelled to Zurich and Reinhold joined her later. The couple resolved to return but had to go back to Moscow after the summer. They returned to political turmoil in Russia.

Less than a year after having to abandon their travels in Europe, the Glières decided to go to Berlin and resume their time in Europe. Twin girls were born in June and for their health and safety, Germany was a better option than strike-torn Russia. It was a logical time to renew his European travels as it was difficult to work through the disruptions and the income from the Glinka prize proved useful.

Glière in Berlin

In 1905 Berlin a multi-national circle of musicians hosted by the largesse of Koussevitzky, was formed. It was comprised of Glière, Rachmaninov who was mostly based in Dresden, bass Feodor Chaliapin, tenor Leonid Sobinov, Polish pianist Leopold Godowsky, and conductors Leo Blech, Artur Nikisch, and Felix Weingartner. Glière was able to live off the

proceeds of his Glinka prize and royalties from his published music. He was also able to acquire students on the recommendation of Rachmaninov. In addition he assisted Koussevitzky who had decided to become a conductor and engaged Glière to help him prepare for this. Glière himself studied conducting from German-Jewish conductor Oskar Fried who was an early admirer of the work of Gustav Mahler.¹⁴⁸ Mahler had a high opinion of the conductor: 'I spent yesterday with Fried, who is a very original, strange customer. I think he has a great future before him, and he will be very valuable to me.'¹⁴⁹ Indeed he was – Fried conducted many Mahler performances throughout Europe and made the first recording of a Mahler symphony for Polydor in the 1920s. It is with Fried that a link between Glière and Mahler can be detected – through his conducting teacher. Glière presumably would have become aware of Mahler's works and maybe it was the influence of Mahler on Glière's symphonic thinking that could be found his Third Symphony which at 70- 90 minutes, depending on the conductor's tempi, is one of the longest in the Russian repertoire.

Koussevitzky proved to be very generous to the Glière family and in the summer of 1906 arranged for a house in Switzerland to enable them to visit relatives. The following year he paid the entire Glière family's travel and accommodation bills for the summer in Biarritz where they stayed next to the Koussevitzky villa. The close relationship between the two proved to be a disadvantage when it came to the premiere of Glière's Second Symphony.

Glière continued to compose piano miniatures for Evgenia Gnesin and send them to Moscow. With evidence of the creative activity of Glière, and receiving news of his success abroad,

¹⁴⁸ In fact he was one of the first Mahler conductors having conducted a performance of the *Resurrection* symphony in 1905 at the composer's invitation.

¹⁴⁹ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 244.

Gnesin wrote: 'I would hope that you will not break ties with the school, will not lose interest in it and will remain an honorary member of our little partnership and our beloved friend.'¹⁵⁰

Glière's First Quartet was first played in the United States of America on January 4, 1906 and his chamber music was now popular in Germany and England. Encouraged by his success, Glière began to compose more ambitious works. In addition to some instrumental and vocal pieces, the Second Symphony and the symphonic poem *Les Sirènes* were conceived in Germany. Latterly he devoted his full attention to the symphonic works apart from the conducting lessons with Oskar Fried. In late 1907 the Second Symphony was completed. Glière dedicated the work to Koussevitzky, with whom he was now on first name terms. The novice conductor chose this piece as part of an ambitious programme for his professional debut, and immediately began to learn the score.

Koussevitzky's conducting debut concert was held in Berlin in the Beethoven Hall on January 23, 1908. The programme consisted of Russian music: *Romeo and Juliet* overture by Tchaikovsky, the Entr'acte to Act 3 of *Orestes* by Taneyev, Rachmaninov's Second Piano Concerto, with the composer as soloist, and the Second Symphony of Glière. The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra had been privately hired for the occasion. Glière was not happy with the reviews. August Spanuth wrote:

... the main piece was Glière's Second Symphony, which is still in manuscript form. Glière is one of the most promising Russian composers who by the way, has lived for the last two years here in Berlin. Incidentally, the original German pronunciation of his name is monosyllabic while it is pronounced in Russian with two syllables. He is an unusual talent without question. But he possesses a little too much *sturm und drang* and this Second Symphony is not yet a masterpiece. If there is inspiration in it, it only strikes sometimes. In the first movement there are some great and original features. The Scherzo has a very useful main theme, but lacks sufficient contrast in the Trio. The

¹⁵⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 61.

variations are almost always compelling, even where the particular variation is not far below the surface. The last movement is stormy and sometimes brutal. This was a brass dominated effort, which was more noise than power. It would be worth revising this last movement somewhat.¹⁵¹

Glière thought that Koussevitzky had not conducted his symphony well. The reviewer did not write about the performance of the symphony but about the work itself. . If there was a problem with the performance and Glière thought there was – this was not addressed by the reviewer. Glière's view was:

Koussevitzky led the orchestra in a very uncertain manner and was only saved by the highest professional skill of the orchestra. Rachmaninov, sitting at the piano, helped the conductor with his head, leading the orchestra with his extraordinarily vigorous, rhythmically precise playing.¹⁵²

For the symphony itself, there was no Rachmaninov to help the orchestra and an inexperienced conductor would have difficulty setting the correct tempo for each variation in the third movement. Spanuth was critical of the symphony – not unfairly – but judging by context, praising Koussevitzky's conducting was inconsistent with the later sections on Glière and Rachmaninov. Unexpectedly Rachmaninov was criticised for his technique:

Rachmaninov the pianist is an excellent warm-blooded musician who is no specialist of the piano. His technique has a spread that can overcome all sorts of tasks, but not always with the elegance and the natural lightness of a professional virtuoso.¹⁵³

Posterity would judge otherwise. In the first part of the review Spanuth further compromised himself by praising Koussevitzky in contrast to the criticism that Glière and Rachmaninov received:

The audience's enthusiastic reception of Koussevitzky was all earned; for Koussevitzky left no doubt that he is an interpreter of uncommon temperament and an effective orchestra

¹⁵¹ August Spanuth, 'Aus Berlin,' *Die Signale*, no. 5 (1908).

¹⁵² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 61.

¹⁵³ Spanuth, 'Aus Berlin.'

leader. The musicians of the Philharmonic Orchestra kept in uninterrupted contact with the conductor, and he, despite his warm-blooded temperament, never lost his self-control even in the most complicated sections. If this was actually Koussevitzky's first essay in conducting it must certainly be said that much is to be expected from him. . . . It may be asserted today that one could hardly wish for a better interpreter of Russian music than this debutant of the baton. He knows how to get elemental bursts of power from the orchestra as well as the sweetest and most ingratiating sounds, and with all his energy and all his temperament he keeps authoritative control.¹⁵⁴

A contrasting view on Koussevitzky was expressed by the reviewer for *Die Musik*, who considered that 'Serge Koussevitzky the double-bass player puts the conductor far in the shade. Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet* is a complete failure with him.'¹⁵⁵

Perhaps Koussevitzky could not do justice to a symphony which had considerable technical difficulties - particularly in the third movement with each variation requiring a different tempo and Variation IV featuring very exacting high harmonics for second violins. There was no performing tradition of the work of course. 'It was so bad that the critics did not expect it', Reinhold Moritsevich wrote two weeks later to his mother-in-law Maria Nikolaevna Rehnquist – 'This is a good lesson for me: not to give my new works into the hands of an inexperienced conductor ...'¹⁵⁶ Perhaps in retrospect Glière should have been grateful that his symphony was performed at all and aware of the fact that Koussevitzky was an inexperienced conductor and some of the considerable technical demands of the symphony might not have been met. No doubt the composer would have felt somewhat obligated to Koussevitzky. In addition the considerable cost of hiring the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and other concert expenses would have been borne by the well-financed Koussevitzky.

¹⁵⁴ Moses Smith, *Koussevitzky* (New York: Allen, 1947), p. 37.

¹⁵⁵ *Koussevitzky*, p. 38.

¹⁵⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 61.

Whatever the divided critical opinion, it seemed that the concert was much more about the debut of Koussevitzky than Glière's symphony or Rachmaninov's playing. In hindsight Glière realised how well Safonov and Nikolai Tcherepnin had conducted his First Symphony. Safonov's stature as a conductor was such that he was in demand in Europe and he became the musical director of the New York Philharmonic from 1906-1909. Tcherepnin too was a highly successful conductor at the Mariinsky Theatre from 1906-1909 and at the *Ballet Russes* after leaving Russia. In Koussevitzky's defence, he chose a demanding programme that consisted almost entirely of recent works with no history of performing practice behind them.

Later Koussevitzky became a highly successful conductor in Boston. To compensate for his lack of keyboard skills he relied on the services of an assistant, Nicholas Slonimsky, who would play the scores on the piano for Koussevitzky to rehearse his conducting.¹⁵⁷ It is not clear whether the Second Symphony's failure affected relations between the two but there is no record of Koussevitzky conducting any other works by Glière.

The failure that Glière experienced in Berlin with his Second Symphony was ironically similar to that of Rachmaninov whose First Symphony had a disastrous premiere in St Petersburg in 1897 at the hands of Glazunov who normally was a reliable conductor. It was important for Glière to succeed in Germany as his family had close connections particularly with Saxony where his father had been born and his youngest brother had served in the Saxon Army. Nikolai Kashkin, a prominent music critic in Moscow went to Berlin and encouraged Glière to continue composing for orchestra.

¹⁵⁷ Nicolas Slonimsky, *Perfect Pitch : A Life Story* (Oxford Oxfordshire ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 73.

Return to Moscow

After the failure of the Second Symphony in 1908, a discouraged Glière went back to Russia somewhat disillusioned at what was happening musically in Western Europe saying: ‘Their style has itself grown old, and the richness of their souls is questionable’.¹⁵⁸ The excesses of Richard Strauss in works such as *Sinfonia Domestica* (1903) and particularly *Salome* (1905) which was initially banned in London, could well have caused this reaction from Glière. What the composer saw as an increasing hedonism and decadence of fin de siècle Berlin culture had disenchanted the composer. On the other hand the exposure of Glière to the works of Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauss may well have influenced his *Ilya Muromets* symphony in terms of scale and architecture if not content.

Back in Moscow, Glière completed *Les Sirènes* as well as pieces for piano and children’s choir for the Gnesin School. He wrote to his wife who was holidaying in the Baltics:

The noise of waves, the loss of the ship, too I'll be able to portray. But the image of the siren, beautiful and seductive siren ... will then represent where I will look again toward you, your hair and your precious smile. Manyurochka, in my Sirens you will be the most charming and seductive ...¹⁵⁹

Les Sirènes was the first work the composer conceived in 1904, when he stayed on the Adriatic, but was completed four years later in 1908 and dedicated to Maria Robertovna. The programme was based on an episode in *The Odyssey*. Glière expanded his orchestra from that of the Second Symphony increasing triple woodwind to quadruple size and from four to six horns. Possibly reflecting its primarily Germanic origins (similar to Rachmaninov’s Second Symphony which was largely composed in Dresden) *Les Sirènes* has many Wagnerian

¹⁵⁸ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 62.

¹⁵⁹ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 63.

allusions that are more overt than those appearing in the second movement of the later Third Symphony. These include the descending chromatic scale motif from *Die Walküre*'s sleep sequence in Act III which depicted the sirens' spell ¹⁶⁰ and the love music from *Tristan und Isolde* Act II, scene 2.¹⁶¹ Despite some of its derivative nature, *Les Sirènes* has passion and drama and features virtuoso handling of the orchestra, with horn fanfares and divisi strings.

The first performance of the symphonic poem was held in Moscow on January 30, 1909 in the Seventh Symphony meeting of the Russian Musical Society under Emil Cooper. On July 6, 1909, Glière made his conducting debut on the summer stage of Kyiv's municipal park. Three weeks later, *Les Sirènes* was conducted in Pavlovsk by the composer. The work was a great success. In 1912, the score and copyright fourth edition transcription were printed by Belyayev and *Les Sirènes* was awarded a Glinka prize. Although he conducted well, ultimately he could not match the charisma and clarity of the most successful conductors and he lacked the dictatorial manner and egocentricity of a Stokowski or Toscanini. Nonetheless, Glière enjoyed orchestral conducting and he willingly responded to all offers. On March 5, 1910 at the Tenth Meeting of the RMS in Moscow, he conducted his Second Symphony, believing that he should try to restore the reputation of the piece after the unsuccessful premiere in Berlin. It was the first performance in Russia and met very favourably by the Moscow public and the press. Nikolai Kashkin in *Russian Word* wrote that the music possessed 'much life and freshness,' Yuri Engel in the pages of *Russian Gazette* stated that the symphony is 'a step forward in the sense of mastery of symphonic form.'¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Richard Wagner, *Die Walküre*, Edition Eulenburg (London: Ernst Eulenburg, 1950), p. 950.

¹⁶¹ Richard Wagner, *Tristan Und Isolde* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), p. 263.

¹⁶² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 65.

In the summer at a resort on the Riga coast in Mayorengofe (Major) Glière met with Polish musicians, Karol Szymanowski and Grzegorz Fitelberg, newly-appointed director of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra and showed them a score of his symphony. Despite the fact that the young Poles were then immersed in the music of Richard Strauss, Fitelberg was impressed by *Les Sirènes* and performed it at the resort. After returning to Poland, he informed Glière that he would conduct the Second Symphony and *Sirènes* with the Warsaw Philharmonic on October 15 and invited the composer to come to Warsaw. 'I'll be happy to present you to our artistic world,' he wrote on October 10. However Glière did not go to Poland ostensibly because he was too involved in composing his Third Symphony. After the concert in Warsaw, expressing regret that Glière was unable to attend, Fitelberg wrote about a 'huge success' and that the symphony deserved more performances.¹⁶³

Ilya Muromets

The Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets* was written for large orchestra including quadruple woodwind and eight horns and at one hour thirty minutes is the longest orchestral work by Glière. See Chapter 5 *Ilya Muromets*

In 1914, Glière was awarded the Glinka prize for *Ilya Muromets*. Jurgenson published the score in 1914 and Muzgizom in 1948. After the 1917 Revolution, the symphony was conducted in many Soviet cities by the composer. The work had been removed from the Soviet repertoire for some time although in a letter to Prokofiev on 10 February 1934 Glière mentioned that it had been reinstated.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 65.

¹⁶⁴ Mikkonen, *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy*, p. 58.

In 1911 Glière considered writing an opera based on *Sulamith* which was a short story written by Alexander Kuprin (1870-1938) in 1908. Glière received permission from the author and began to sketch the libretto. The scenario had three acts:

Act I: Sulamith's meeting with Solomon

Act II: Palace of Solomon with festive dances

Act III: Death of Sulamith

The opera was an intriguing mixture of forbidden love, Schopenhauer and orientalism – a *Tristan* set in the Middle East. Although the libretto was never finished, a definite parallel can be drawn with later works of Glière which contain similar elements – namely the opera *Shakh-Senem* and the ballet *The Red Poppy*.

The spirit of the age in Russia, parallel to the Symbolist movement, had an intense interest in early Russian folklore and myth. Examples of this include Borodin's Second Symphony nicknamed *Bogatyr* (1877), Rimsky-Korsakov's 1905 opera *The Invisible City of Kitezh*, Viktor Vasnetsov's painting 'Three Bogatyrs' (1898) (which featured mythic heroes Dobrynya Nikitich, Ilya Muromets and Alyosha Popovich) and Alexander Grechaninov whose opera *Dobrynya Nikitich* was performed at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1904. Nicholas Slonimsky, Koussevitzky's assistant in Boston, was uniquely qualified to judge the style of Glière:

His style was chiefly derived from the great national school of nineteenth Russia plus a surface layer of impressionism which was beginning to be in fashion at that time... It is in Glière's harmony that one may find the chord expansion that definitely places him among twentieth-century composers. There is a certain kinship with Scriabin and the profusion of orchestral colour with a prolixity of arpeggiated passages is characteristic of both composers.

The high point of Glière's pre-war music is reached in his Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets*. It is a grandiose work one of the longest in symphonic literature.¹⁶⁵

Another project planned by Glière was a symphonic poem based on Pushkin's *The Song of Oleg the Wise*. *Trizna* [Funeral Feast] was a further exploration into early Russian myth, this time going back to the beginnings of Rus'.

Ex. 2.2 *Trizna* sketch 1



¹⁶⁵ Nicolas Slonimsky and Electra Yourke, *Writings on Music*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (New York ; London: Routledge, 2004), p. 46.

Ex. 2.3 Trizna sketch 2



In the summer of 1912 Glière wrote to his wife:

Trizna is almost fully composed, but the completion will take a lot of work, and everything goes so well but now I have neither the time nor energy. Still I do not regret it and if I finish the work as I envisaged it, it should be better than *Ilya Muromets* or *Les Sirènes*.¹⁶⁶

The composer planned an epic picture of the ancient hero's funeral with lamentations of widows and a funeral feast at the end. The project never came to fruition as Glière struggled with the demands as director of the Kyiv conservatory guiding it through the First World War and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

¹⁶⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* pp. 75-76.

Ex. 2.4 *Trizna* sketch 3 fugal subject



Although Glière's ethnic identity has been clarified, some questions remain for further research. Were both of his grandmothers German? This might explain why his brothers kept such close ties to Germany and did not see their identity as Russian. On the other hand it appeared that Glière became russianised to facilitate his music career. He formally changed his name from 'Reinhold Ernst Glier' to Reinhold Moritsevich Glière in 1898. His brothers remained their German citizenship and the youngest Karl joined the Saxon Army. Unfortunately for him he had to return to Kyiv to take over the family business and when World War 1 broke out in 1914 both brothers were arrested as enemy aliens.

The Kyiv Conservatory Years

In 1913 the Kyiv Music School was upgraded to Conservatory status by the Russian Musical Society. Kyiv underwent rapid expansion in the late nineteenth century and had grown from a population of 73,000 in 1863 (when the RMS was established in the city) to 500,000 by 1910.¹⁶⁷ Consequently there was significant demand for more music education facilities and even with nine hundred students; the school could not fulfil this demand. In 1904 Nikolai Ikonnikov had argued that Kyiv was 'extremely impoverished in artistic-educational institutions and, on the other hand, particularly rich in talented and able, but poor, musicians and actors,' who had nowhere to turn for their artistic education.¹⁶⁸ There were as many as twelve institutions in Kyiv providing music tuition (including the music and drama school established by Mykola Lysenko) but the quality of the St Petersburg and Moscow conservatories was yet to be matched.

Glière was invited to lecture in composition at the newly-fledged Conservatory - it seemed that he was being groomed for the directorship. The plan was for the current Kyiv Music School director, Vladimir Pukhalski, aged 64, to oversee the transition and serve in the post for a valedictory year. Pukhalski had joined the school in 1875 bringing stability and organisation after twelve years of incompetent administration.¹⁶⁹ Glière's first responsibility was to build up the orchestral forces of the city and conduct concerts - this was seen as such an important task that he was only given three students to supervise in his first year.

In Kyiv there were only five public symphonic concerts annually - considerably less than Moscow or St Petersburg. In Kyiv and in other provincial centres, there were continual problems in recruiting enough players for the orchestra which was heavily dependent on the

¹⁶⁷ Lynn M. Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 181.

¹⁶⁸ *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, p. 181.

¹⁶⁹ *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, p. 181.

opera orchestra and senior students from the Conservatory. Only in St Petersburg and Moscow were there permanent professional orchestras (the Mariinsky and Sheremetev orchestras in St Petersburg and the Koussevitzky Philharmonic in Moscow) where extra players were not required for the Russian Musical Society concerts. Consequently orchestral standards in the two major cities were higher than in the provincial cities - Kyiv, Kharkiv, Riga, Tbilisi and Baku where the number of concerts performed was much fewer. Glière immediately started to audition players for a newly-formed student orchestra and launched an ambitious schedule of concerts for it.

The official, grand opening of the new Kyiv conservatory was scheduled for 3, 4, 5 November, 1913. On November 4 the fiftieth anniversary of the Kyiv branch of the Russian Musical Society would be celebrated. Appropriately the concert programme included Pukhalski's symphony *In the Mountains* as a tribute to the Kyiv Music School's long-serving director. Although Pukhalski planned to conduct his own work, his health was such that he asked Glière to understudy him. On the night itself he felt unable to conduct so Glière stepped in and according to Gulinskaya, performed the piece so effectively that the directorate of the Russian Musical Society offered him the last subscription concert in March 1914.¹⁷⁰ This is at variance with the historical account of David Persson who stated that Glière had been offered the March concert in September:

On September 19, 1913 there appeared a notice in the *Kiev Gazette*: Management of the Kiev branch of the Imperial Russian Music Society arranges 1913-1914 season, five symphony concerts. The first concert will take place on November 22 under the baton of AB Khessin with soloist Beklemishev. The second will be on December 13. Conductor for this concert is Safonov and is devoted to works by Tchaikovsky. The third concert is scheduled for December 20 with the same conductor. The program of this concert will consist entirely of works by Richard Wagner, with two choirs. The

¹⁷⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 79.

fourth symphony concert will be held on January 13. Conductor will be the conductor of the Dresden Royal Opera Kutschbach with the participation of the pianist Myra Polgeym. The fifth concert is on March 5. It will be conducted by R.M. Glière. This symphony concert will feature the Conservatory of Amsterdam professor, violin virtuoso M. Sicard...¹⁷¹

Clearly the concert series had already been decided long before Glière stepped in to help Pukhalski out. The timetable according to Gulinskaya would have given Glière only three weeks to learn largely unfamiliar repertoire in technically demanding pieces, particularly contemporary works such as Richard Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* and Liadov's *Kikimora* for the November 22 concert. Glière would probably have declined the opportunity at such short notice. Persson's alternative version seems more plausible – that the Russian Musical Society was informed of Khessin's unavailability in September giving Glière enough time to learn rehearse the scores.

Glière wrote to his wife:

I received an official invitation to conduct on March 5. For this pleasure I was offered 400 roubles!!!... Russian conductors are paid from five hundred to three hundred. Glazunov and Safonov get five hundred if they should come. I was also offered four hundred, though I would take three hundred. When we arranged it with Davydov, I said that for me in this case, the question about the fee was a minor consideration, and so on and so forth it went very well...¹⁷²

This letter was dated 17 September 1913 which further backs the Persson chronology. The November 22 concert was to be Glière's full conducting debut as he had previously only conducted summer garden concerts plus part of the 1912 Ilya Sats memorial concert in Moscow. To be paid a fee almost as much as Safonov or Glazunov for conducting was a huge boost to the self-critical Glière. The November programme had a multi-national flavour with

¹⁷¹ DM Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' in *Reynold Moritseovich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials]* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965–7), ed. VM Bogdanov-Berezovsky (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1965-67), vol. 2 p. 198.

¹⁷² 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 198.

Russian, Polish, Finnish and German composers: Glazunov's Fifth Symphony and *Ballade*, Liadov's symphonic poem *Kikimora*, two popular orchestral pieces (*Prelude* and *Berceuse*) by Finnish composer A. Järnefeld, Chopin's Piano Concerto No 2 in E minor and the technically demanding *Till Eulenspiegel* by Richard Strauss.

The next task was to build up the student orchestra to performance standard for a concert on February 9. Glière spent all of January 1914 rehearsing the orchestra – a test of strength and stamina. The first performance of the student symphony orchestra was held on February 9, 1914 and contrary to the expectations of many sceptics went extremely well. The concert programme included works by Mozart, Beethoven, Gluck and Bach. In March Glière conducted his Second Symphony for the Russian Musical Society in its Kyiv premiere. The second audience heard Concerto for Violin and Orchestra by violinist M.M. Sicard and orchestrations by Glière of Scriabin and Rachmaninov piano preludes and *Dance kozlonogikh* [Dance of the kids] by Moscow theatre composer (and recently deceased) Ilya Sats.¹⁷³ Local critical reaction was favourable. It noted his attraction to the 'immortal canon', as reflected in the best works of Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikovsky and spoke of his 'impeccable technique' and 'harmonic mastery' but with regard to his arrangements of pieces by Scriabin and Rachmaninov, they seemed somewhat heavy, dull and lacked tenderness in the orchestra. On the other hand Glière's orchestration of *Kozlonogikh* was recognized as amazing.¹⁷⁴

On April 17, the Kyiv Conservatory orchestra performed its second concert which included works by Schubert, Mendelssohn, Weber, and Meyerbeer. Glière wrote to his wife:

¹⁷³ Sats' daughter Natalya commissioned Glière pupil Sergei Prokofiev to write the music for *Peter and the Wolf* in 1936. The work became world famous.

¹⁷⁴ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 80.

‘I have just got back from the concert, which in general was a success ..., There were many people there. It inflames the appetite, and as early as next year, they want to perform an opera with this orchestra ...’¹⁷⁵ Glière had proved himself as an orchestral trainer *par excellence* and the results were to enliven the cultural life of Kyiv and Ukraine. After the winter season Glière was invited to conduct summer performances in Baku and Ekaterinoslav¹⁷⁶ as well as Theodosia, and Odessa. Persson believed that conducting became more important to Glière after his recent experiences:

While in previous years, Reinhold Moritsevich regarded his performances in concerts as just pleasing, he began to consider performing activities as a mandatory, permanent component of the creative mode. .¹⁷⁷

This surely belies Michael Misner’s theory that Glière had aimed for a conducting career after returning to Russia from Berlin: ‘His training, talents, and especially his conducting gave him (at the time) the aspect of the ‘big’ Russian musician like Ippolitov-Ivanov, Koussevitzky, Safonov, and others. However due to his financial backing, unlike those mentioned, was not up to sustaining the image.’¹⁷⁸ Persson on the other hand maintained that Glière had turned down previous offers of conducting work in order to concentrate on composition (having produced his first masterpiece in this period, *Ilya Muromets*) and that it was only now in 1914 that he started serious conducting.

On June 3, 1914 Glière was elected unanimously as director of the Kyiv Conservatory with the support of a director of the Russian Musical Society, L Davydov – Tchaikovsky’s

¹⁷⁵ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 200.

¹⁷⁶ Dnipro

¹⁷⁷ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 200.

¹⁷⁸ Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' pp. 15-16.

nephew.¹⁷⁹ Glière immediately outlined his plans to raise the level of music education, teachers and professors of the Conservatory. Maximum attention would be given to general education, sol-fa, the elementary theory of harmony, and opening a class for church organists which would be taught at the local Lutheran church. He also planned to expand classes for opera singers. Glière recalled how Anton Rubinstein (who been born near Odessa) had lamented how opera singers had to leave Kyiv to receive better training echoing the views of musicologist Alexey Ikonnikov. Glière believed that Kyiv could and should become one of the major musical centres of the country, and for that the Kyiv Conservatory in its development must be equal to that of St Petersburg, not only to provide basic professional knowledge, but also to use every opportunity to educate well-rounded musicians and artists. The Kyiv Conservatory intended to systematically give symphony concerts performed by students and teachers and a reformed student orchestra. The next step would be the opera. These were ambitious plans of restructuring outlined by Glière. Glière believed that the conservatory required new premises with a good concert hall and he visited the mayor and asked for the extraction of the city subsidy in addition to the money that had previously been collected from among the wealthy residents of Kyiv. The new curriculum was sent to Glazunov in St Petersburg and Ippolitov-Ivanov in Moscow for approval and finalised after considering their suggestions. Glière decided to not only teach composition but leadership, orchestral and chamber ensemble and an opera class despite substantial increases in student numbers. The most outstanding talent in Glière's composition classes during his Kyiv period was Boris Lyatoshinsky who was to become a leading Ukrainian

¹⁷⁹ Other Soviet sources give different dates for the appointment: Persson's biography gives the election as at the end of the calendar year whereas Petrova says it occurred in 'early 1914'.

composer and close confidante of Glière. Glière set the example for his students to follow covering all aspects of composition in great depth. Lyatoshinsky wrote:

Reinhold Moritsevich never forgot about harmony. Already in the second and third courses of the Conservatory, I had to make two large dissertations on harmonic analysis of *The Invisible City of Kitezh* (Rimsky-Korsakov opera) and literally all the works of Scriabin. We wrote fugues for piano and for string quartet and other instrumental ensembles. A lot were analysed, mainly from JS Bach and from the works of Russian composers - Reinhold Moritsevich analysed fugues of Taneyev and Glazunov with us.. Highly interesting were the hours devoted to instrumentation, in particular the analysis of the greatest composers of orchestral style. Many scores of Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Wagner, Debussy, and Richard Strauss were at the piano on the desk, behind which we were sitting. I remember with what interest and attention I was studying numerous pages, written by the hand of Reinhold Moritsevich containing examples taken from the scores of Wagner. Among other works, as I recall, we orchestrated a lot of exercises from the textbook of G.E. Konius.¹⁸⁰

In June 1914, Glière visited Baku for the first time. He was interested in Azeri folk music and attended evening performances of local musicians. Glière paid particular attention to the *zurna* - a double-reed folk instrument akin to modern oboe and cor anglais timbre,¹⁸¹ which he had long wanted to hear. On June 28, 1914 Glière conducted his first concert in there; he then went to Yekaterinoslav (now Dnipro), Feodosia in Crimea and Odessa. In these concerts his repertoire was not extensive. Usually, he programmed his own First or Second symphony, then works by Rachmaninov and short pieces by local Ukrainian composers. If a violin soloist was available and he managed to engage one (as in Baku), he added the Glazunov Violin Concerto to the programme. Only one concert was scheduled for Theodosia on July 9, but this was so successful that a second concert was performed. On July 15 (Old Style)

¹⁸⁰ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynhold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 69.

¹⁸¹ This instrument of Persian and Turkish origin may explain the importance of the cor anglais in the Russian orchestral palette. The Ukrainian instrument the *surma* is related.

Glière travelled to Odessa where he arrived to news of Austria's declaration of war against Serbia. Conductor S.A. Khalatov who with Glière had just arrived in Odessa, was immediately summoned to Moscow. Glière wrote:

Semen Aleksandrovich leaves, although tonight he is scheduled to perform ... Today I had a second rehearsal. Musicians played without concentration, since many of them are in the army reserve. All are terribly worried, and this is reflected in rehearsals ...¹⁸²

Germany had given Russia an ultimatum to stop massing forces on their frontier. When there was no answer Germany declared war on Russia subsequently on July 20 the concert in Odessa was cancelled at the last moment. As Russian forces mobilised for the war, many trains were commandeered by the army and Glière had considerable difficulty getting back to Kyiv.

World War One

Despite the war, the academic year at the Kyiv Conservatory started on time in September although some students were drafted into the army.¹⁸⁴ Glière set an example to staff and students with his punctuality. Attaching great importance to students' performing practice, Glière decided to organise two types of student performances: private, in-house concerts with many performers and public concerts where the more distinguished students could perform. Reinhold Moritsevich invariably attended all the concerts, although the private ones sometimes lasted for hours, and organised discussion and took an active part in them. Having achieved considerable success with the student symphony orchestra concerts with the Kyiv audience, Glière began to attract vocal performance students to the Conservatory, and created

¹⁸² Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 202.

¹⁸⁴ In September Glière's two brothers Moritz and Karl were arrested for being enemy aliens. In November they were exiled to Orenburg. In 1920 they took advantage of the Civil War and escaped to Germany.

a choir. Glière sent invitations to Rachmaninov, Scriabin, Alexander Gretchaninov, Karol Szymanowski, Leopold Auer, and Paweł Kochański to play in Kyiv.

The third symphony concert of the Conservatory was a complete performance of Saint-Saens' oratorio *Le Déluge* (1875). The liberal newspaper *Kievskaya mysl'* (March 15, 1915) wrote that:

The concert was interesting not only as an indicator of another success achieved by schoolboy orchestra and chorus ... over a short period of time ... but as a relatively successful experience. This conclusion was mainly based on the satisfactory performance for the young forces of the main programme number, the oratorio *Le Déluge*. This complex piece requires intensive training and careful, concerted effort of all the performers, especially the orchestra, on whose share fell the most crucial role here. The inclusion of the oratorio in a program of a student orchestra was risky. The execution of it, however, showed that the participating forces were good enough to overcome all the difficulties of the score ... The overall result is a successful concert which indicates the great productivity and the tireless work of R.M. Glière.¹⁸⁵

Immediately after the concert Glière started rehearsals for an opera concert to be performed by the students of the Kyiv Conservatory on Sunday, 5 April, 1915. On the programme was Rimsky-Korsakov's short fifty minute opera *Vera Sheloga*, excerpts from Verdi's *La Traviata* (the first act) and *Aida* (the final aria from the first scene and the entire first scene of Act 11). Rehearsals began again from morning to night. 'All these days, there has been so much trouble that I did not have time to sleep,' Glière wrote to his wife, who was resting in Petrograd. He went on to say:

Yesterday our Conservatory Opera was a great success ... It was an event, and afterwards people came up to me on stage who said they were waiting for forty years for yesterday's performance with an opera from the Conservatory's own ensemble. But the work was a frightfully huge effort. . . Every day, I had a rehearsal, and sometimes from morning to night. . .¹⁸⁶

In the audience was Sergei Prokofiev, as Glière related:

¹⁸⁵ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 86.

¹⁸⁶ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' vol. 1 p. 205.

Sergei called in to see us on the way back from Rome. He wanted to go to Moscow yesterday, but I persuaded him to stay to listen to our opera. After the opera we had dinner with Beklemishev and Briskin, who arrived for a few days and also stayed with us. After dinner came our conservatory pianists (Turchinsky, Pukhalski, Tarnowski, Korotkevich Shtoss-Petrova, and Dobkevich Mikhailov). Sergei played a lot. Afterwards everyone went to the concert of Kochański and Szymanowski, and after the concert - in the literary and artistic club, where there was a concert in which the program was led by Nikita Baliev, who was at this time in Kiev, performing a series of scenes from *die Fledermaus*...¹⁸⁷

Glière put much effort into attracting outstanding musicians to teach at the Conservatory many with close links to Ukraine. During the years of his directorship at the Kyiv Conservatory, he invited pianists Heinrich Neuhaus, Felix Blumenfeld, I. Turchinski, theoretician BL Jaworski, cellist SM Kozolupov, violinists, MG Erdenko and the legendary Odessa-born Paweł Kochański (who was later to join New York's Juilliard School in 1924 and had a close collaboration with Szymanowski who dedicated several famous works for violin to him). Glière conducted negotiations with Blumenfeld's nephew, the outstanding Polish composer Karol Szymanowski, who was back in his native Ukraine from London, offering him a professorship. Szymanowski was in a dilemma as to whether he should accept a post of senior lecturer at the Conservatory; he wrote:

The Director of the Kiev Conservatoire — Glière - in a most friendly and pleasant manner, asked me to accept the professorship of composition ... most probably involving a three to four years contract. Glière, quite a young chap, is throwing out the 'old mushrooms' in favour of 'fresh blood' ... He engaged among others Józef Turczyński, the pupil of Busoni ... I must admit that on my return home, brooding over the proposition, which I think, I must accept. (I should earn up to 2000 roubles a month, which normally as you know, I rarely do.), I shed a few bitter tears. This strange new prospect, of utterly unnecessary drudgery, not connected with my creative work, haunts me. It means 'good-bye' to the greatest treasure I cherish most of all—my artistic freedom. Can you visualize me year

¹⁸⁷ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 88.

after year in this dirty hole, teaching some stupid asses 'naczalnuju garmoniu do dominat septakorda wklucziltielnc' (Russian: elementary harmony up to dominant seventh)...¹⁸⁸

Despite having been born in Tymoszwówka, Ukraine, Szymanowski was educated in Poland and drawn to Polish culture where he and Kochański were active in the literary group *Młoda Polska* [Young Poland]. Szymanowski decided to dedicate all of his energies to composition and was in fact creating some of his most important works at this time including the highly successful Violin Concerto No. 1 and the Third Symphony *Song of the Night*. Alistair Wightman considered that this was Szymanowski's most fertile period: 'The three years that followed Szymanowski's return from London - from August 1914 to October 1917 – proved to be the most creative period of his entire career.'¹⁸⁹ It seems ironic that Glière himself turned down an opportunity to hear his Second Symphony and *Les Sirènes* in Warsaw conducted by Fitelberg in favour of working on his *Ilya Muromets* symphony, his most important work until *Red Poppy* and *Shakh-Senem* in 1927, when Szymanowski rejected the chance to join the Kyiv Conservatory in order to work on his major compositions.

Glière was also negotiating touring performances with conductors, in particular with Polish conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg, Alexander Glazunov (with whom he was on first-name terms), and Safonov. It was Safonov who proposed a concert of Scriabin playing his own works, which was particularly pleasing to Glière. He greatly appreciated the genius of Scriabin and tried his best to get Kyiv to accept his music. On March 3 Scriabin gave a solo recital playing his Ninth Sonata and the 'Dark Flame' prelude. He wrote to his wife from Kyiv:

¹⁸⁸ B. M. Maciejewski, *Karol Szymanowski : His Life and Music* (London: Poets and Painters Press, 1967), p. 52.

¹⁸⁹ Wightman, *Karol Szymanowski : His Life and Work*, p. 140.

I played well as I rarely do and the reception was like Petersburg itself Did I not tell you about the most important news? Imagine that the Kyiv Conservatory sent me a bouquet! (Times are changing!) I found out that Glière and Beklemishev constantly promote my work and I gain lots of friends. I was very touched by the recognition of the conservatory, and above all I thank Glière.¹⁹⁰

There developed a new bond between Glière and Scriabin but this was to be short-lived. A month later, on April 14, Scriabin was dead. On October 16, Glière was one of the first to pay tribute to Scriabin in an orchestral concert dedicated to the deceased composer with the Third Symphony (*Divine poem*), *Poem of Ecstasy* and the Piano Concerto.

Over the two summer months, June and July 1915, Glière taught at Dobkevich Conservatory, where he had a lot of time to compose. In his letters he more than once regretted that his numerous duties made it impossible to devote as much time to composition as he wanted. The defeat of the Polish fortress of Przemyśl to Austrian forces on June 3, 1915 hastened a retreat by the Russian army and in late August, the order was given to evacuate the Kyiv conservatory to Rostov because its building in Kyiv was to be occupied by a regiment. On September 1, 1915, Glière's wife and children returned to Moscow and Glière himself took his mother and orphaned nephews¹⁹¹ to Rostov.

Upon arrival, Glière and his aides engaged in preparing necessary facilities, equipment, classes, and dormitories for students and apartments for teachers and employees. Glière wished to maintain live performances, despite the fact that the conservatory orchestra had disbanded, because many students were called up to the army. He formed an orchestra from the remnants and the Rostov music school. While this ensemble was rehearsing for a December concert, the teachers organised a charity concert on November 1 at the Rostov City

¹⁹⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 89.

¹⁹¹ Glière's sister was murdered by her estranged husband in 1898 leaving three orphaned children

Council Hall: 'I am sitting still in evening dress; although it is two o'clock ... The concert was brilliant ... The audience was packed ...'¹⁹² Glière wrote to Moscow. The preparation for the symphony concert, which was eagerly awaited by the Rostov public, was held in difficult conditions. In December the programme consisting of Glière's First Symphony, Pukhalski's Piano Concerto (with the composer as soloist in the performance), Rachmaninov's prelude trilogy orchestrated by Glière and Taneyev's overture to *Oresteia* - a tribute to his recently deceased teacher, were performed. From Rostov Glière wrote to his wife about his future creative plans:

When I finished *Ilya Muromets*, I felt a terrible void in myself ... I very much want to take up composition again. If I compose *Sulamith*, 4th Symphony, *Trizna*, ballets and three concertos, I can easily die.¹⁹³

The ballets and concerti came to fruition later in the composer's career. The large scale works either remained in sketch form (*Trizna*) or remained as plans. The spirit of the age was inexorably moving away from large scale works to the anti-romantic, modernistic aesthetic espoused by Prokofiev and Stravinsky. This paralleled the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires.

At the same time as he was preparing for the small concert in Rostov, Glière was rehearsing his tribute to Scriabin in Kyiv, which was held on 16 October. The concert was dedicated to the memory of the recently deceased Scriabin; it included the Third Symphony (*Divine Poem*), *Poem of Ecstasy* and the Piano Concerto. The soloist in the concert was E.A. Beckman-Scherbina. Shortly before his departure to Kyiv on October 7, Glière wrote to his wife in Moscow:

¹⁹² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 90.

¹⁹³ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 90.

It's only 9:00 pm. I read through the score of Scriabin's concerto. . . I previously suggested five rehearsals, but due to the fact that the orchestra is expensive, I had to settle for four. Today a letter arrived from Kyiv, where they write that the orchestra needs allowances. What will come of this, yet I do not know.... My head is spinning from this uncertain situation. . . All this fuss is out of place, since the scores need to be taught.¹⁹⁴

Despite problems with the rehearsal schedule and difficulty with the music, the concert was a success, although the audience was small and *Kievskaya mysl'* criticised the Kyiv public for not supporting the concert:

We have already written about the gems of Scriabin's genius. *The Divine Poem*, *Poem of Ecstasy* which are somewhat familiar to the public, and Kiev. . . Part of the program in the interpretation of Glière made a strong impression. This applies especially to the *Poem of Ecstasy*, where the conductor found clarity in the development, and identified changing moods.... The music public of Kiev shone by their absence at the concert dedicated to the memory of Scriabin. Of course, the dignity of the great composer is not detracted by this, but it reflects badly on the concert-going public of Kiev.¹⁹⁵

Four years later in 1919, Scriabin's son Julian came to the conservatory. The teaching staff unanimously recognised the exceptional musical talent of the boy and hoped that he would continue his father's artistic achievements. This was not to be – Julian Scriabin died in a boating accident on the Dnieper River later that year – he was 11.¹⁹⁶ Later Boris Lyatoshinsky gave his impressions about Scriabin's son:

Sometimes Glière got his senior students to check on the exercises given to the younger ones. I remember how I had many occasions to check on the harmony exercises of Julian Scriabin. We all marvelled at the rare talent of this boy. In his initial attempts in composition one felt the amazing style of the music of his father.

¹⁹⁴ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p.207.

¹⁹⁵ 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 208.

¹⁹⁶ For more detail on Julian Scriabin see Slonimsky *Writings on Music* p. 53

The untimely death of this talented, maybe even a genius child, drowned in a tributary of the Dnieper, stunned us all.¹⁹⁷

Nicolas Slonimsky who was also in Kyiv at the time, wrote: 'Julian inherited his father's genius. He was barely 10 years old when he wrote piano pieces very much in the manner of Scriabin's last opus numbers.'¹⁹⁸

In January 1916 the Kyiv Conservatory reopened in its old building and was busier than ever with more than 700 students attending. As if to forget the war, there were concerts every day. Glière wrote to his wife in Moscow:

I do a lot. We now have a fairly noisy life. Tonight I go to a rehearsal of my Quartet, which performed on Sunday at the Merchants' Assembly hall. Yesterday was a concert of Slivinsky - Director of the Saratov Conservatory. Probably one of these days we will celebrate it. . . At the Conservatory, it is unusually lively.¹⁹⁹

However in February, Glière managed to find the time to visit Tiflis (Tbilisi) for a concert tour. He wrote to his wife who had been born in Tiflis:

I just got a response from Tiflis - I will conduct the First Symphony and *Les Sirènes*. My student Brodsky was surprised how keen I was to go to Tiflis. He says that in me there is a lot of youth. And I was going so readily, because this is the first invitation to conduct a symphony winter meeting in another city. This is a kind of initiative. I hope that Tiflis would bring me luck, as it already has.²⁰⁰

Glière was fascinated with the opera house which featured Italian opera (*La Traviata*, *Stiffelio*), Georgian tragedy and Muslim opera. The first production he saw was Italian composer Esposito's *Camorra* and on Sunday he attended the Muslim opera in which he heard Persian melodies accompanied by Middle Eastern percussion instruments. The concert itself was not overly successful but Glière was pleased with the reviews he received: 'I am

¹⁹⁷ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 70.

¹⁹⁸ Slonimsky, *Perfect Pitch : A Life Story*, p. 52.

¹⁹⁹ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 211.

²⁰⁰ 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 211.

generally pleased that in Tiflis they looked at me as not only a composer but also as a conductor. In this respect, a strange city is more impartial. . .²⁰¹

Soon after his return from Georgia, Glière put on two student concerts one being dedicated to the works of Beethoven and Scriabin, and the other dedicated to the opera *The Barber of Seville*. The conservatory started to programme works by young composers - students of Glière. Outstanding amongst these was a string quartet by Boris Lyatoshinsky. At this time Glière made many invitations for musicians from other cities to tour in Kyiv. On March 7, 1916, he wrote to Alexander Goldenweiser, his former piano teacher:

Dear Alexander B. ... I am glad that you and Vyacheslav Ivanov agreed in principle to come to Kyiv to give a concert-lecture in Scriabin's memory ... The purpose of this concert, in addition to promoting creativity of Scriabin, is to give all of the net collection for the benefit of his family.²⁰²

This concert was held on April 17 at the hall of the Merchants' Assembly. Goldenweiser played piano works by Scriabin and a lecture on Perspectives on Scriabin's art was read by Ivanov (later, in 1919, the text of this lecture was published in Kyiv's newspaper *Theatre*). Glière invited Glazunov and Sergei Vasilenko to conduct concerts of their own compositions and also invited conductors Emil Cooper, Emil Młynarski, Koussevitzky, violinists Leopold Auer, Jascha Heifetz (just before his family left Russia), singers Nina Koshetz and N. E. Stepanova. At the request of Glière, Rachmaninov, Gretchaninov and Prokofiev came to Kyiv for concerts. Musicologist Mikhail Gnessin also gave several public lectures on various musical problems, as well as several lectures specifically for teachers and students. For part of the summer, Glière conducted concerts in Yalta and continued to work on the symphonic poem *Trizna*, then went to Moscow to visit his wife and family. At the end of August he was

²⁰¹ 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 212.

²⁰² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 92.

again in Kyiv. The 1916/1917 academic year was a particularly difficult one as many musicians were conscripted into the army depleting the numbers of the Kyiv orchestra which almost broke up. In early September, Glière spent most of his time auditioning at the conservatory, listening to over four hundred candidates.

In late October, Glière left for the Conservatory in Petrograd, and from there to Moscow, where on October 25 he rehearsed the Koussevitzky Philharmonic Orchestra for his first full concert debut in Moscow three days later. A review by former colleague Yuri Sakhnovski was published in the newspaper *Russkoe slovo*:

The programme consisted of three pieces. The Second Symphony, completed only 9 years ago, was played in the first half. The second half consisted of the *Mermaid*, a play specially written for coloratura soprano and orchestra, dedicated to the best singer of our time, and A. Nezhdanova sang it wonderfully yesterday. In conclusion, was the symphonic poem *Les Sirènes*. The greatest success was the composer of the poetic and the fantastic, well done and repeated, *Mermaid*, also performing four romances accompanied by piano as encores. The sonorous *les Sirènes* was excellent, and much was made of the perfect symphony. It should be noted that a large step forward has been made by Glière in the conductor's art - a much more confident swing, the attention of conductor much less distracted by unimportant details, and the important lines revealed much more vividly. Both of the artists deserved equal success.²⁰³

After returning from Moscow to Kyiv, Glière had to prepare for another symphonic concert, scheduled for November 18. The programme was ambitious - Sergei Prokofiev performed his First Piano Concerto coupled with Stravinsky's First Symphony (in E-flat), and *Enchanted Kingdom*, a symphonic poem by Nikolai Tcherepnin . Writing to his wife about the concert, Glière revealed a very self-critical approach to his conducting:

Prokofiev was a huge success, playing a lot of encores. The orchestra was quite decent, and a lot came out well, some bad, and the bad things made me depressed. As always, after the concert, the first few days felt disgusting and I only think of all the blunders that I made when conducting.

²⁰³ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' vol. 1 pp. 213-214.

Sergei has been with us for three days, and we spent a very pleasant time. On the day of the concert he played many pieces at the conservatory for students, and despite the fact that the morning was a dress rehearsal for the evening for the encores he played a lot of difficult things. They are all here, even Pukhalski, fascinated. Now Sergei was much more modest and does not produce a feeling of revulsion with his self-conceit, which previously came through on every conversation...

Sergei stayed here in my rooms. After the concert he had to immediately go to Moscow for a day on an important matter, and he even arranged with great difficulty a place in the train carriage. But in the evening he received a basket of flowers and a note, and without explaining what was happening, he decided to go to Kharkiv. It is obviously some affair of the heart...²⁰⁴

It is fascinating to compare Glière's letter with Prokofiev's diary entry about the event. It turns out the young composer was not impressed with the orchestra which was 'a little rocky' and once 'knocked me off course' during when he performed his concerto with them whilst Glière's conducting was 'pretty rotten' but Prokofiev 'was not in the mood to find fault.'²⁰⁵ The novel repertoire of Stravinsky, Tcherepnin and Prokofiev which was unfamiliar to both orchestra and conductor was ambitious fare even for a peacetime concert let alone an orchestra that was depleted by war. The programme was very bold for a Kyiv audience and presumably it had been Prokofiev who had selected the works performed.

In December, Glière began to prepare for the Kyiv premiere of his Third Symphony. He trained thirty students from the conservatory orchestra class that would complement the depleted Kyiv orchestra. It seems ironic that it was not until the middle of the war with the associated acute shortages of musicians that the *Ilya Muromets* symphony - the 'jewel in the crown' of Glière's works up till that time, and which required large orchestral forces was heard in Kyiv for the first time. On January 12, 1917, Emil Cooper conducted the Kyiv premiere of the Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets*. Undoubtedly it served as a boost to war

²⁰⁴ 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 214.

²⁰⁵ Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries : 1915-1923 : Behind the Mask*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber, 2008), p. 151.

morale to perform a symphony portraying the exploits of the near-invincible Russian bogatyr when Russian forces were close to defeat. On January 10 Rachmaninov played in Kyiv for the last time, accompanying Kyiv-born mezzo-soprano Nina Koshetz who he was romantically involved with at the time. The song cycle Op. 38 consisting of eight songs was dedicated to her.

Bolshevik Revolution

A further revolution was imminent following the February abdication of the Tsar in Russia, and many factions competed for power in Ukraine. Kyiv officials set up the Executive Committee of United Civic Organisations with liberal politicians to support the Provisional Government, socialists set up soviets in Kharkiv and Kyiv and Ukrainian activists set up a Central Rada [Council] under historian Mikhailo Hrushevsky and requested from the Provisional Government in Petrograd autonomy within the Russian Federation. Permission for this was not possible until the Provisional Government had set up the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Ultimately the Rada lost support for not addressing the issue of land redistribution and the peasantry began to forcibly seize lands from the crown and nobility in the autumn of 1917.²⁰⁶

The Kyiv Conservatory continued to operate as before during the early stages of the revolution - there were intensive preparations for the performance of the student orchestra and the two operatic performances. On March 19 Glière conducted a Russian Musical Society symphony concert in which Moscow pianist Nikolai Orlov was the soloist in Rachmaninov's

²⁰⁶ Serhy Yekelchuk, *Ukraine : Birth of a Modern Nation* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 70.

Second Piano Concerto coupled with Glière's First Symphony. On May 2, 1917, elections took place for conservatory director. Glière was re-elected for three years. He wrote to his wife: 'The general attitude towards me feels better, but on the other hand I say that the most difficult symphony is easier and more enjoyable to write than to be a director of the Conservatory. And it will not get easier ...'²⁰⁷

Glière spent the summer months in 1917 with his family in Moscow, but in late August, returned to Kyiv. By the end of the year Glière conducted only once in a Kyiv concert - on 5 December. This was almost cancelled because of the difficulties associated with the cello soloist and lack of rehearsal time. Glière wrote to his wife on December 7:

Despite the most unfavourable circumstances, the symphony concert was held yesterday and was a great success. I have received from the Directorate a large basket of flowers and one from the choir, who sang in the suite. . . There were to be three rehearsals (and a little). The first two went well. At the beginning of the third the military came to me and said that the theatre was requisitioned for 4 days and that for rehearsal they would only give half an hour. The whole day was a lot of trouble to arrange the evening and get the theatre free. The concert was not until half past eight. We were unable to play the accompaniment to Tchaikovsky's cello variations in rehearsal, and in the evening I took a chance with the music to accompany them. It turned out very well, and the musicians came up to me and congratulated me... The theatre was almost full. The musicians have tried, and in general I am satisfied ...²⁰⁸

In January the Glière residence and the conservatory were damaged in artillery barrages from the attacking Bolshevik forces – on January 28, 1918, Glière wrote to his wife, who had remained in Moscow with two of their children:

In our house the roof was hit by shells, and three apartments in the third and fourth floors were all broken, and one woman killed ... The windows in seven classes of the Conservatory are completely shattered, and in the hall a shell destroyed a wall. I wrote a ballet number, and helped Lily with her French... The last two days were just unbearable ...²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 217.

²⁰⁸ 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p. 217.

²⁰⁹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 96.

The Bolsheviks took Kyiv on 8 February, 1918 but did not endear themselves to the local population: 'Having taken Kyiv, the Bolshevik troops, led by the brutal Mikhail Muraviev, reportedly executed between 2,000 and 5,000 class enemies there.'²¹⁰ This was probably when two of Glière's nephews – Boris and Vladimir (who had joined the White Army in 1917) were captured and executed.²¹¹ A report from the United States Consul in Kyiv stated:

The people of Kiev were stunned after the battle was over. They seemed dazed by the bombardment and the terrible events they witnessed during the closing hours of the battle. It is estimated that there were 6,000 casualties, of whom between 2,000 and 3,000 were killed, but these figures may be too low.

Before they left the city, the Ukrainians, whose forces were composed of so-called free Cossacks and volunteers, executed many soldiers who had deserted to the Bolsheviks and were later captured. For the first two days of Bolshevik occupation there were hundreds of executions, or more properly speaking murders. It is estimated that 300 or 400 officers were shot down on the streets or taken to a park near the former residence of the governor, where they were killed. Many well-dressed civilians were also reported to be have been shot down but this is not confirmed. The Bolshevik troops were embittered against the officers found in Kyiv, because they believed they had all assisted the Ukrainians, and at first seem to have made little effort to find out whether the officers had taken part in the fighting or not...

It is impossible to give any reliable estimate of the damage done to property in the city. Many houses were practically destroyed by shell fire and several were burned ... It is reported that toward the last the Bolsheviks poured shells into the city from five different directions... Damage was greatest around the arsenal, at the railway station, and in the center of the city, known as the old town.²¹²

Three weeks later the Bolsheviks were forced out by a German/Austrian army which occupied Ukraine as part of the short-lived Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. On March 3, 1918, the new Bolshevik government signed a peace treaty with Germany and its allies at Brest-Litovsk

²¹⁰ Yekelchyk, *Ukraine : Birth of a Modern Nation*, p. 73.

²¹¹ Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 10.

²¹² James Bunyan, Harold H. Fisher, and Frank Alfred Golder, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918 : Documents and Materials* (Stanford, Calif.London: Stanford University Press ; H. Milford, Oxford university press, 1934), pp. 449-450.

then in Poland. The treaty ceded the states of Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states to Germany. Ukraine was to be independent but in effect was controlled by the German High Command. Western Ukraine was split off and unified with northern Bukovyna and Transcarpathia under Austro-Hungarian jurisdiction. Essentially the role of Ukraine under the treaty was to supply the German and Austrian armies with provisions and when supply was disrupted, the German command declared martial law and seized the railways.

In June 1918 Glière performed two symphonic concerts in Kharkiv; on 2 July conducted several numbers in an 'Evening of music, song and doom' in the premises of the Kyiv Circus, and then travelled to Odessa (in July and September), where he conducted four symphony concerts. On September 1 Glière conducted his Third Symphony for the first time in Odessa. On November 21 Glière conducted the last concert of the year. The programme was dedicated to the works of Tchaikovsky to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the composer. The concert consisted of: Serenade for String Orchestra, an aria from the opera *The Enchantress* (with Nina Koshetz), the First Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (with Gregory Beklemishev) and the Fantasy Overture to *Romeo and Juliet*.

In the meantime, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was essentially nullified by the surrender of Germany and its allies to the Western Powers in November 1918. After the Germans left Kyiv on December 14, the city was occupied by French troops who had landed in Odessa to support the White Army. The Bolsheviks were attacking from the north and took Kyiv for the second time in February – they held it for six months. Periodically, Kyiv was shelled, causing fires and the destruction of lives and property. Within a short space of time, Kyiv and Ukraine had become a battle ground for the great powers. The extent of the problem was

summed up by William Rosenberg: 'The Ukrainian population had experienced six different governments and five armies of occupation between February 1917 and June 1919.'²¹³

By December, cultural life in Ukraine seemed to have become relatively normal, and Glière was planning some concert tours for 1919 but this was wishful thinking - to implement them was still not possible because of the civil war in southern Russia. The rail and postal services between Kyiv, Moscow and other cities had almost ceased. Now Glière was limited to live performances in Kyiv. Reinhold Moritsevich, his mother, three children and two nephews who were living with him in Kyiv, were experiencing hardship as conditions in the conservatories had seriously deteriorated. According to Boris Schwarz there was no heating and salaries were unpaid for months.²¹⁴ The main income in this period was performing in concerts. Glière was increasingly involved in chamber music concerts with programmes consisting of his vocal, piano and instrumental work. Performing in these concerts were well-known opera singers and the professors of the Conservatory. In the first half of 1919 Glière performed in five chamber concerts (20 February, 5 April, and three times between 6 and 16 May). In addition, during the same semester, he conducted three times – 23 February, 18 March and in the first half of April.

In December 1919, the Bolsheviks took Kyiv for the third time and attempted to establish power with more enlightened policies including recognition of the Ukrainian language but the fighting was not yet over. Polish and Ukrainian forces took Kyiv in May 1920 with Jozef Piłsudski looking to set up a buffer state between the Soviet Union and Poland. Bolshevik

²¹³ William G. Rosenberg, *A. I. Denikin and the Anti-Bolshevik Movement in South Russia*, Amherst College Honors Thesis (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press, 1961), p. 65.

²¹⁴ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 25.

forces counter-attacked in June to win back Kyiv. While many of his friends and others refrained from working in the young Soviet organisations, Glière became superintendent of the Ukrainian music committee of the People's Commissariat of Education. Despite this new post, the instability of the Civil War in Ukraine (which was not resolved until the Treaty of Riga in 1921) caused Glière to look at the possibility of returning to Moscow in 1920:

I would like an environment in which we could be with the children fed and not frozen from the cold. On my composing I do not say goodbye but wait a few years. Maybe the time will come when it is possible to write...²¹⁵

There had been considerable tragedy in the family during the war and revolution. All four of his nephews – the sons of his late sister - had died and his wife was living in Moscow. His two brothers had been exiled to Orenburg as enemy aliens.

In 1920 Glière was invited to take the place of Professor (in composition and polyphony) at the Moscow Conservatory and resigned his post in Kyiv. The advantages included reuniting with his wife and family and gaining more time for composition. Administration and performing had occupied most of his time so there was no sequel to *Ilya Muromets*; on the other hand, as his contribution to Ukrainian culture, Glière had orchestrated two operas by Lysenko – *Natalka Poltavka* and *Cheromorets* and a symphony *Imitation of Ezekiel* based on text by Taras Shevchenko. Both of the Lysenko operas had been orchestrated by the composer but the original complete scores had been lost.

Return to Moscow

²¹⁵ Persson, 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949,' p, 219.

The post-revolutionary music scene in Russia had seen a constant outflow of many high-calibre performers including Rachmaninov, Heifetz, Koussevitzky, Auer, Milstein, composers Gretchaninov, Medtner, and later Glazunov. It took many years to rebuild the infrastructure that had been destroyed by the Civil War and living conditions for most were difficult.

In Moscow Glière supplemented his teaching at the Conservatory with harmony lessons at the Gnessin School and the newly formed Moscow State Musical College. He was also appointed as director of the music section of Narcompros (Peoples Commissariat of Education) the Moscow Education Department (Narkomat prosveshcheniya). His duties for the latter post were to organise public concerts in factories, military units, and trade unions. At the same time, he began teaching at the Communist University of Workers of the East which was established in 1921. For five years he directed the student choir. Nationalities represented included Chinese, Indians, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks and Tatars. Exposure to their national songs and their performing styles were to influence Glière's orientalist works *The Red Poppy* and the opera *Shakh-Senem* and *Gyulsara*.²¹⁶ Undoubtedly the quest for security for his family of five children prompted him to take on so much work. The plight of his brothers who were forced into exile to Germany and the nephews of his murdered sister who had been killed in the First World War and the Civil War made his quest for security paramount.

An indication of how little time Glière had to compose during the years of his directorship of the Kyiv Conservatory is apparent when the list of official compositions is examined.

²¹⁶ Notable students of the university at this time were the future leaders of Vietnam and China Ho Chi Minh and Deng Xiaoping

Between Op. 63 (1913) and Op. 64 (1921) there is a gap of eight years (although Op. 66 *Trizna* was worked on from 1911-15 it was left unfinished) –. The early years of the 1920s reveal the same pattern although there are several pieces without opus number that were completed during this period.²¹⁷

Glière still had very little time to compose with the many positions he held under the new regime but he was able to plan several large scale works that were to span the 1920s. The first of these was a ballet *The Zaporozhy Cossacks* which was inspired by Ilya Repin's painting depicting: 'The Reply of the Zaporozhian Cossacks to Sultan Mehmed IV of the Ottoman Empire'. The composer conducted the premiere in Odessa on 23 December 1925. Although devised as a ballet it was only performed in concert as a symphonic poem. The work is not Glière's finest. Despite its colourful subject, the work lacks the lyricism characteristic of the composer and the ostinato figure employed to depict the Sultan is unduly repetitive. The dance episodes featuring the *kazachok* are spectacular but these do not redeem the work.²¹⁸

In 1921 a new version of the ballet *Khrizis* was staged at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow (directed by Alexander Gorsky conductor Yuri Fayer) but the production was unsuccessful. It took until 1923 for the railways to be restored after the Civil War but Glière was able to travel to KharkivKharkiv and Kyiv in July 1923 for four symphonic concerts: two in KharkivKharkiv and two in Kyiv. At the second concert in Kyiv, he performed works by protégées - Boris Lyatoshinsky's Andante from his First Symphony, a Piano Concerto by

²¹⁷ This included incidental music to plays by Sophocles and Aristophanes

²¹⁸ In 1969 Shostakovich set a verse on the same Repin painting by Polish/French poet Guillaume Apollinaire (Wilhelm Kostrowicki) in his Symphony No. 14. The poem which reads as a torrent of abuse in colourful language (originally French) was accompanied by a spared down orchestra of strings and percussion creating a certain emotional distance between the composer and his subject although the trills and glissandi at the conclusion convey the abusive reply distinctly enough.

Marcian Frolov and his orchestration of a march by Lysenko. In August he visited Baku and started working on the opera *Shakh-Senem*. In 1924 Glière produced his first post-revolution political works - two pieces for brass band: *March of the Red Army* (based on the revolutionary song *Bravely Comrades in Step*) and *For the Festival of the Komintern* (Internationale) which was dedicated to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

For coverage of *The Red Poppy* and other ballets see Chapter 8 [Soviet Ballet: Beginnings](#)

On his fiftieth birthday Glière was awarded the title of Honoured Artist of the Republic and the order of the People's Commissariat of November 9, 1925, signed by the People's Commissar for Education AV Lunacharsky. A string quartet was named after him and he wrote his Third Quartet for its members. That year Glière conducted seven concerts the most notable being one in December in Odessa where the *Ilya Muromets* symphony was performed.

In 1927 Glière was awarded the title of Honoured Artist of the Republic of the RSFSR. In several foreign countries articles and reports were written about the Glière anniversary. In *The Chicago Tribune* an article was accompanied by photographs of the composer. *Dresden Anzeiger* carried a publication entitled 'From Scriabin to Glier.' There was a list of major works of the composer, a report on what he was working at the time, and noted that he was the most popular composer in Russia. The number of performances of Glière's works noticeably increased as a result of the celebrations.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 108.

After The Red Poppy

After the triumph of *The Red Poppy* including performances in Bulgaria (Sofia), Germany (Breslau now Wrocław, Poland), and Romania (Bucharest), prominent Russian/American impresario Sol Hurok, wanted Glière to tour America with a ballet troupe performing *The Red Poppy*.

In 1930 Sol Hurok repeated his proposals to Glière. 'I believe that your visit may be an event in the musical world of America' - he wrote. The ballet company was no longer part of the proposition. He invited Glière as pianist and conductor, performing his works, and offered to organize the eight-week tour of North America and Canada. In October, he sent a contract (in 1932, with right of renewal for 1933) and made a statement to the press. Following this, the composer received a letter from Ivan Narody in New York - the critic wrote that if a tour went ahead with Glière in agreement with Hurok, he would handle the press coverage. He asked for Glière to send him pictures; concert programmes and music. Glière was in no hurry to decide. He remembered the advice of Rachmaninov, who in 1922 warned him 'to find out all the circumstances before you take the journey,' for the organisation of concerts in the United States was difficult.²²⁰

In the 1920's, when the Civil War in the Soviet Union made it very difficult to perform concerts, the archives show that in 1923 Glière had planned overseas concert tours. He did not travel abroad even to European countries, although exit visas were issued. In the archives there is a permit issued on Oct. 5, 1923 by the Special Committee of overseas artistic tours

²²⁰ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 139.

and art exhibitions, allowing Glière to visit abroad for two months. In 1929 The Wall Street Crash devastated the arts in the United States. In June 1932, Ivan Narodny wrote to Glière: 'Music journalists have nowhere to go. There are empty theatres and concert halls.'²²¹ Most people could not afford to go to concerts, and the issue about the trip was dropped.

The composer's income did not suffer during this period as the official figures indicate:

In 1933 Glière earned the sum of 62,300 rubles from copyrights, contracts and *Muzgiz* while Shebalin earned 25,000 rubles. However Khachaturian and Dmitri Vasiliev-Buglai earned only 5,710 and 7,000 rubles respectively.²²²

In 1935 on the sixtieth birthday of Glière, he was awarded the title People's Artist of the RSFSR. he held numerous concert performances In big cities (Moscow, KharkivKharkiv, Baku, Tbilisi, Odessa) Glière gave more than thirty concerts (thirteen symphonic, the other chamber), which were largely carried out during the two-month tour of Siberia including the Kuzbass region (Western Siberia) when the composer visited some of the most distant corners of the Soviet Union. With him travelled singer AK Bulgakov, who performed his songs, and a pair of ballet dancers G. Koenig and N. Gaev who performed some numbers from *The Red Poppy* to piano accompaniment from the composer.

After the extensive concert tour of Siberia Glière conducted symphony concerts in Tver, and Taganrog. He then went to Tashkent and Russian opera and orchestra held there for two symphony concerts. And since, in addition to the First Symphony, the suite from *The Red Poppy* , the overture and dances from *Shakh-Senem* He wanted to play more from and use the opera arias, from Baku was invited Shevket Mammadova. The same programme was performed in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan.

²²¹ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 140.

²²² Mikkonen, *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy*, p. 139.

In early August 1941 a telegram from England was sent to the Union of Soviet Composers. On behalf of the Workers' Musical Association in London the composer Alan Bush wrote: 'We vow to give our full support in the common struggle for humanity and cultural progress.' In the reciprocal message Glière, Myaskovsky, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, thanked him for the feeling of solidarity and expressed confidence in 'victory over the enemies of humanity and culture.'²²³

Following the *Overture on Slavonic Themes* in 1941 (See Chapter 6) there was a second overture from Glière, *Friendship of Peoples*. This overture was first performed on December 5, 1941, in Sverdlovsk, where Glière and his family were evacuated in the autumn. Here, however, the composer stayed there for a short time - just a couple of months. Allowed by the military authorities to briefly return to Moscow, Glière there on Dec. 15 gave a symphony concert at the Central House of the Red Army for soldiers about to go off to the front. Five days later, having received an invitation to head the State Examination Commission for orchestral, historical, theoretical and composition faculty of the Sverdlovsk Conservatory, he again returned to the Urals. The Conservatory exams were still going when he received a call from Kuibyshev, summoning him to meetings of the State Prize Committee of the USSR. Glière repacked a suitcase, as always, filling it with scores and parts on hand in case an opportunity to hold a concert. Thanks to this foresight, the USSR Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra played his Second Symphony, *Zapovit*, and the Harp Concerto on April 16, 1942 in Kuibyshev.²²⁴

²²³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 176.

²²⁴ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 167.

Despite having to travel constantly Reinhold Moritsevich created the opera *Rachel*, dedicated to the struggle of French patriots, with the invasion of Prussian troops in 1870. The libretto, written by Mikhail Bulgakov and M. Aliger, was based on Guy de Maupassant's novel *Mademoiselle Fifi*, *Rachel* was first performed in 1943 by A. Orlov at the Moscow Radio studios.²²⁵

After the Battle of Stalingrad in 1943 Grechaninov, then living in the United States, wrote to Glière on March 5, 1943:

I am excited about the success of Russian forces I, like my colleagues, located in Russia, wrote a heroic poem for orchestra and choir entitled 'Toward Victory.' It is dedicated to my 'gallant heroes of the Second World War' ... The words to the chorus I found in Pushkin's *Tsarskoye Selo memories*.²²⁶

In the same year Gretchaninov reported the interest in the United States of the music of Glière: 'Radzinsky in New York and Stokowski in Hollywood performed *Ilya Muromets* with huge success (If you ever come to America, you will be welcomed here as an old friend and a favourite composer). In another letter on November 14, 1944, Grechaninov wrote: 'I am pleased to write to you that your name has been on radio programs: sometimes a symphony, but 'Yablochko' once or twice, sometimes more, every week.' On the day of the 70th anniversary of Glière New York radio, according to Grechaninov, one station played the symphony, on the other station, smaller pieces. Many newspapers featured articles about the composer.²²⁷

²²⁵ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 168.

²²⁶ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 176.

²²⁷ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 176.

Last Years

1955 was marked by the 80th anniversary of Glière. The composer again made several concert tours including Kyiv. For the thirty-eighth time Kyiv again heard, *Ilya Muromets*. Flowers, smiles, applause greeted him everywhere. The radio constantly played his music, punctuated by stories of his life. The last concert of the year took place on December 26 in Leningrad at the Kirov Theatre. Especially poignant was a presentation to Glière from the troupe of the Kirov Opera and Ballet Theatre, which took place after a performance of *The Bronze Horseman*. In October, he received a letter from Leopold Stokowski about the further success of *Ilya Muromets* in America.

In 1956, Glière was still active. On January 25, he presided at an evening dedicated to the 200th anniversary of Mozart. Then he gave a speech about Mussorgsky - in connection with the 75th anniversary of his death. In May, Glière gave two concerts in Chisinau, and then one (May 21) in Odessa. The programme consisted of two ballet suites from *Taras Bulba* and *Daughter of Castille* - and the concerto for harp and orchestra, the solo part played by Vera Dulova. On May 22 Glière attended the dress rehearsal and first performance of *The Bronze Horseman* and was glad that the public in Odessa greeted his ballet with great enthusiasm. Reinhold Moritsevich felt tired, and even complained to his old friend - Odessa doctor AM Segal about heart pain.

On the way back home from Odessa to Kyiv Lyatoshinsky, on the platform waiting for Glière, drew attention to the tired look of his former teacher and repeated his usual request to take care of himself. However, returning to Moscow, Glière did not rest, although the general malaise was complicated with more acute attacks of sciatica. Scheduled for May 30 was his performance with an amateur orchestra at the Central House of Teachers. Glière, who

disliked cancelling concerts, went ahead particularly because a delegation of Polish teachers would be there. On May 30 Glière for the last time in his life went on stage with a baton in his hand. The concert included the Overture to Slavonic themes, an aria from the opera *Shakh-Senem*, suite from the ballet *The Red Poppy* and fragments from *The Bronze Horseman*, was the last public appearance of Glière. On the night of 3 June a massive heart attack put him to bed. A doctor was called and the patient dutifully took his prescribed medication. A few days later he expressed a desire to see Boris Lyatoshinsky. Lyatoshinsky immediately went to Moscow and spent the days at the bedside of Glière and stayed at the house of Igor Belza, a fellow former student of Glière, at night. Glière remained positive planning more concert tours and writing a Violin Concerto and starting a fifth string quartet. On June 23, 1956 Reinhold Moritsevich Glière's heart stopped beating. On June 27 a Memorial service was held at the Great Hall, Moscow Conservatory and the funeral at Novodevichy Cemetery.

Chapter Three

Glière and the Political

Over the course of his lifetime Glière was faced with major events unparalleled in world history - the series of Russian Revolutions starting in 1905 culminating in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, two world wars and then major events in Soviet cultural politics. Glière's two nationalities - Polish and German - came under pressure first with the marginalisation of Ukraine's Polish ethnic minority in the late nineteenth century and later in

World War 1 when ethnic Germans were given enemy status. His two brothers were interned as Reinhold himself would have been if he had not taken Russian nationality in 1897.

The first Russian Revolution took place in 1905 when Tsar Nicholas II came under severe pressure to cede much of his power to the Duma (state parliament). The Russo-Japanese war was being fought at this time, Russia had suffered defeat at Port Arthur in Manchuria and was about to suffer severe humiliation at the Battle of Tushima when most of its Baltic fleet was sunk by the Japanese Navy. These defeats, the events of 'Bloody Sunday' (a massacre of two hundred demonstrators outside the Winter Palace in St Petersburg on January 22, 1905) and other similar events in Riga, Warsaw and Odessa added to the pressure on Tsar Nicholas II to institute reforms.

On February 3, 1905 leading Moscow musicians including Taneyev, Rachmaninov, N. Kashkin, F. Chaliapin, A. Goedicke, A. Kastalsky, A. Grechaninov, and Glière signed a letter published in *Nashi dni*:

We are not free artists but like all other Russian citizens, we are the disenfranchised victims of today's abnormal social conditions. It is our conviction that there is only one solution: Russia must at last embark on a road to radical reforms.²²⁸

In St Petersburg Rimsky-Korsakov wrote a letter in full support of the declaration and allied himself with the liberal element of student opinion. In the capital the conflict spread to the Conservatory when a regimental band student claimed to have shot protesters at the Winter Palace on Bloody Sunday. The director of the Conservatory AR Bernhard refused to expel the bandsman against popular opinion.²²⁹ The outcome was that Rimsky-Korsakov was dismissed on March 19 and Bernhard's letter of resignation accepted. Two newspapers

²²⁸ Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, p. 232.

²²⁹ *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, p. 232.

printed a petition signed by leading composers protesting at the dismissal of Rimsky-Korsakov from the St Petersburg Conservatory. Rimsky-Korsakov was eventually reinstated in his post and Alexander Glazunov elevated to the directorship.

Less than a year after having to abandon their travels in Europe, the Glières decided to go to Berlin and resume their time in Europe. Twin girls were born in June and for their health and safety, Germany was a better option than strike-torn Russia. Although Misner seemed certain that Glière was subject to ‘opposition from the government’ because he signed the manifesto of February 3, no proof of this was offered.²³⁰ The Okhrana²³¹ did have a considerable presence in the St Petersburg Conservatory, as Andrei Kryukov outlined:

The pressing everyday problems were embedded in the speeches of speakers from the wider issues of public importance. It is no accident the police closely monitored developments in the conservatory! In the secret reports of its agents were retold the content of the speeches, seeing in them calls to threaten the foundations of the state.²³²

Presumably the Moscow Conservatory also had police informants detailing political activity therein but there is no evidence that other signatories to the letter were harassed by the Government and it is unlikely that Glière would have been singled out in this way – he was not teaching at the Conservatory – he was teaching younger students at the Gnesin School.

²³⁰ Michael Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's Concerto for Horn and Orchestra Op. 91' (Texas, 2001), p. 15.

²³¹ Tsarist secret police

²³² Kryukov, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov*, p. 84.

1917 Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War

After barely two years in the post of director of the Kyiv Conservatory, Glière was faced with managing the institution through World War I. This included an evacuation to Rostov. As Russian forces were beaten back by the Germans, Russia was in constant turmoil. In 1917 two revolutions occurred in Russia. The first in February deposed Tsar Nicholas II and installed a Provisional government led by Prince Lvov. The second in October brought the Bolsheviks to power. A prolonged and bitter civil war followed and Kyiv was particularly hard hit.

As already mentioned while many of his friends refrained from working in the young Soviet organisations, Glière became superintendent of the Ukrainian Music Committee of the People's Commissariat of Education in 1919. Economic necessity forced him to bury any antipathy he felt against the Bolsheviks for executing his nephews.

When Glière left for Moscow in 1920 he took up an equivalent post to the one he vacated - director of the music section of Narcompros (Peoples Commissariat of Education) the Moscow Education Department (Narkomat prosveshcheniya).

1932

The 1932 Party Resolution: 'On the Reconstruction of Literary and Artistic Organisations', effectively dissolved the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians on the basis that it limited the sphere of creative work and caused unhealthy conditions for the development of

Soviet music.²³³ The resolution also had a significant impact on the Moscow and Leningrad Conservatories:

Party bosses Boleslav Pshibyshevskii and A.I. Mashirov had been appointed to the leadership of the Moscow and Leningrad Conservatories respectively. Pshibyshevskii and Mashirov were said to have allowed 'extreme leftists' to turn their conservatories upside down. After the April Resolution both were dismissed from their positions, Pshibyshevskii in 1932 and Mashirov eventually in 1935. In contrast, traditionalists, representatives of the old bourgeois intelligentsia including Reinhold Glière and Nikolai Myaskovsky were reinstated to their former positions.²³⁴

As previously mentioned Glière had taken leave of absence to go to Azerbaijan in 1931 to revise *Shakh Senem* (see Chapter 6) and although it was a convenient time to do so amidst the chaos in the Conservatory, he was not dismissed. Pshibyshevskii was executed in 1937.

The demise of the RAPM met the approval of Glière, Myaskovsky and Shostakovich amongst others. A new association of composers and musicologists was set up - the Union of Soviet Composers. The organisation had had its beginnings when the Moscow Composers' Union was established in September 1932. The participating organisations were Rabis, the trade union for arts' workers, and Narkompros, the education ministry. The governing board consisted of Mikhail Arkadiev, Viktor Gorodinsky, Alexandr' Goldenweizer, Nikolai Myaskovsky, Vissarion Shebalin, Aleksandr' Krein and professional musicians and musicologists. The Creative Department involved Moscow Conservatory professors Myaskovsky, Glière and Aleksandr' Goedike.²³⁵ The Leningrad counterpart was formed in autumn 1932 and others were formed in Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia that year. They were followed by Azerbaijan (1934), Belorussia (1938), and Uzbekistan (1938). Until 1939 the union existed as separate branches based in Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv and other cities. The

²³³ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 112.

²³⁴ Mikkonen, *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy*, p. 32.

²³⁵ Tomoff, *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, pp. 19-20.

Moscow branch was at first headed by Arkadiev who was soon replaced by lawyer and amateur pianist Nikolai Cheliapov in 1933.

In January 1936 a new government initiative formed The Committee of Artistic Affairs headed by the formidable Platon Kerzhentsev. The committee had a mandate to ‘overhaul the entire Soviet arts establishment and bring it under unified supervision.’²³⁶ It was no coincidence that soon after the formation of the committee, an attack on Shostakovich’s opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* appeared in *Pravda* on January 28. Another editorial criticising the Shostakovich ballet *The Quiet Stream*, followed in February. It is very likely that Kerzhentsev instigated these editorials to marginalise Shostakovich and others (including critic Ivan Sollertinsky and conductor Samuil Samosud) who were supporting the strengthening of the Leningrad State Academic Maly Opera Theatre (MALEGOT) which Kerzhentsev was against.²³⁷

In the Great Terror of 1937 Cheliapov was denounced and executed as was Arkadiev. No composers were executed during this time although Shostakovich felt threatened by his close association with the discredited Marshall Tukhachevsky. In February 1938 Glière was elected as chairman of the Moscow branch of the Composers’ Union heading a radically reorganised structure. One of Glière’s first tasks was to apologise for terminating contracts signed after 16 August 1937. Narkomfin (People’s Commissariat of Finance) had blocked the union’s ability to negotiate them on the basis that it was primarily a creative organisation.

²³⁶ *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, p. 21.

²³⁷ See Leonid Maksimenkov, *Sumbur Vmesto Muzyki : Stalinskaia Kul'turnaia Revoliutsiia, 1936-1938* (Moskva: Iuridicheskaiia kniga, 1997).

In early 1938 Kerzhentsev was dismissed and replaced by A.I. Nazarov. On 4 March 1939 Nazarov sent a proposal for a Soviet Composers' Union to high ranking officials Molotov and Andreev. The proposal was:

With the goal of an exchange of creative experience, we request the formation of a Union of Soviet Composers of the USSR. To manage preparatory work for the convening of a congress of composers, we request the foundation of an Organisational committee according to the enclosed list of members. The proposed composition of the Organisational Committee includes the twenty-four most outstanding composers of the RSFSR and national republics.²³⁸

These composers were: Glière, A.V. Alexandrov, Myaskovsky, Dunaevskii, Uzeir Hajibeyov, D.I Pokrass, Boris Asaf'ev, L.N. Revutskii, Boris Lyatoshinsky, Aro Stepanian, Ivan Djerzhinski, Khachaturian, Shostakovich, Kabalevsky, Viktor Belyi, A.V. Bogatyrev, L.I. Arashashvili, Vanno Gakieli, Talib Sadykov, Abydylas Maldybaev, Yuri Shaporin, Maximilian Steinberg, K. S. Kushnarev and Vaino Muradeli.

On 4 May 1939 Sovnazkom²³⁹ passed Nazarov's proposal. Glière was appointed as president of the All-USSR Composers' Union with Khachaturian his deputy and Leningrad-based popular song composer Isaak Dunaevski (who had been born near Poltava, Ukraine) as joint deputy. Tomoff believed that actual power was concentrated in the hands of Khachaturian:

The young and energetic Khachaturian quickly took practical control of the institution, no doubt with the support of the much older Glière and Khachaturian's fellow assistant head, the distant Dunaevski, who still lived in Leningrad.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Tomoff, *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, p. 24.

²³⁹ Council of Peoples' Commissars

²⁴⁰ Tomoff, *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, p. 34.

Zhdanovshchina

Early in 1948 *Zhdanovshchina* or the Zhdanov affair was initiated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This was a reaction to a closed performance at the Bolshoi Theatre of Georgian composer Vaino Muradeli's opera *The Great Friendship* which had been visited by members of the Central Committee led by Stalin. The Committee was outraged by both the music and the libretto of the opera and Andrei Zhdanov convened a meeting to discuss the issue with the Moscow composers. Over three days a wide ranging debate about the opera and problems in Soviet music ensued. On 10 February 1948 a resolution was published criticising the opera and the leadership of the Composers' Union was restructured with the secretariat of Khachaturian, Muradeli and Avtomian replaced by one including Tikhon Khrennikov who was to become the leading figure in the Union until the break up of the Soviet Union.²⁴¹

Subsequently the Composers' Union held a series of meetings from 17 to 26 February debating the resolution. Tikhon Khrennikov took the lead criticising a host of Soviet composers and their works for formalism:

The Central Committee of our Party in its Resolution of 10 February 1948 severely branded the anti-democratic formalistic tendencies in Soviet music. The immediate reason for the intervention of the supreme Party organs into musical affairs was the new opera *Great Friendship* by Muradeli, staged by the Bolshoi Theater of the USSR in the days of the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution...

The music of Soviet composers of the 1920's and 1930's offers numerous instances of formalistic tendencies in Soviet music: Shostakovich: opera *The Nose*, Second Symphony, Third Symphony; Prokofiev: the ballets *The Prodigal Son*, *On the Boristhenes*, *Pas dacier*, the opera *The Flaming Angel*, Third Symphony, Fourth Symphony, Fifth Piano Concerto, Fifth Piano Sonata; Mossolov: *Iron Foundry*,

²⁴¹ Khrennikov, (paper presented at the General Assembly of Soviet Composers, Moscow, 1948).

Newspaper Advertisements; Knipper: the opera *North Wind, Tales of a Porcelain Buddha*; Desbevo: the opera *Ice and Steel*; Myaskovskii: Tenth Symphony, Thirteenth Symphony, Third Piano Sonata, Fourth Piano Sonata; Feinberg: Piano Sonatas, First Piano Concerto; Shebalin: Lenin Symphony, Second Symphony; Popov: First Symphony; Lyatoshinsky: Second Symphony, songs; Belza: First Symphony, Second Symphony, songs; Polovinkin: *Telescopes for orchestra*, Accidents for piano; Litinsky: Quartets and Sonatas; Shcherbachev: Third Symphony, etc.

Khrennikov's list of composers and works is comprehensive and the major consequence for Glière was the naming of both his prize pupil and confidante Lyatoshinsky and his biographer - Igor Belza.

The sequel to the Composers' Union meetings in February, was the First All-Union Congress of Composers held in Moscow from 19 to 25 April. A new directorate was elected by secret ballot. It is not known if Glière stood for this new body. The directorate in turn elected Asafiev as chairman and Khrennikov as general secretary. Glière had lost his position at the head of the union and therefore Misner is mistaken in the belief that Glière did not suffer the punishments that others had to endure in 1948: 'Glière was one of the few outstanding Soviet composers to escape indictment by the Central committee of the Communist Party when in 1948 it launched its attack on dissonance makers and dissonant formalists.'²⁴² With the post of president there were privileges that were lost including the use of a car. Cars had been provided to only three members – Glière, Khachaturian and Shostakovich. According to the archives Khrennikov agreed to help Glière with the matter.²⁴³

Meri Herrala rejected the traditional analysis of the affair's events. She believed that the Zhdanov campaign was the result of a struggle between populist and highbrow factions in the

²⁴² Misner, 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91,' p. 21.

²⁴³ Tomoff, *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, p. 279.

Composers' Union. The populists led by song composer Dunaevsky resented the money paid to the top tier of composers including Shostakovich and Prokofiev and engineered the crisis to curtail this. Herrala developed this idea and discovered the amounts that the composers were paid in the archives.

The official in a position of influence over budgetary issues and who owed large sums to Muzfond was Viktor Beliy, who held the purse strings of the Orgkomitet. He owed 24,375 roubles to Muzfond. These same self-serving fiscal manipulations were practiced by the two leaders of the Orgkomitet, the chairman Reyngol'd Glier and his deputy Aram Khachaturian. Glier, who owed 24,578 roubles to Muzfond, and Khachaturian, the de facto chairman of the Orgkomitet, who owed 23,632 roubles. Both men would be dismissed from their posts. This was because Glier and Khachaturian, together with Muradeli and Atovmyan, were considered responsible for granting remarkable loans to composers deemed formalists such as Sergey Prokofiev, - 181,516 roubles, Gavriil Popov, - 65,999 roubles, Vissarion Shebalin - 22,972 roubles, Yury Shaporin 22,897 roubles, and Dmitry Shostakovich - 1,559 roubles.²⁴⁴

This in part had been caused by the decision to unite disparate factions of classical composers with populist song composers. Patrick Zuk described how Myaskovsky reacted to being accused of 'formalism':

It was true that Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Myaskovsky had works banned and from September 1948 Shostakovich was dismissed from his professorships at Moscow and Leningrad conservatories. The unwritten protocols that governed Stalinist rituals of public 'unmasking' and 'denunciation' [razoblacheniye] dictated that the condemned should confess their guilt and recant their errors. Uniquely among the proscribed composers, Myaskovsky refused to do so, showing remarkable self-possession in the face of this barrage of criticism. He was present at the January meetings with Zhdanov, but unlike Shostakovich, Kabalevsky, and Khachaturian, all of whom evidently felt constrained to make a show of repentance, he did not speak. Pleading illness, he did not attend any of the events convened thereafter to discuss the resolution: he remained secluded in his apartment for some weeks, withdrawing into the company of his immediate family and close friends such as Pavel and Olga Lamm.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948 Socialist Realism Vs. Western Formalism*. p. 241.

²⁴⁵ Zuk, 'Nikolay Myaskovsky and the Events of 1948' p. 78.

The effects of the formalism debate affected Glière but not necessarily in a negative way. His concerto for horn and orchestra became popular with players and audiences alike but was this work a reaction to the Zhdanovshchina of 1948 (as Richard Taruskin suggested)²⁴⁶ or a realisation that the Cello Concerto was not a success and he that should return to the more melodic idiom of his Harp and Coloratura Concertos?

Glière's former student and confidante Boris Lyatoshinsky was no stranger to being accused of formalism: 'In 1937 his three-movement Second Symphony in B minor was sharply criticised for 'formalism' and its Moscow premiere had to be revoked ...'²⁴⁷ The symphony was not performed until 1964. In 1951 Glière helped to resolve conflicts with those who protested about Lyatoshinsky's Third Symphony after its premiere in Kyiv. The performance 'caused a great sensation' but the composer was forced to rewrite the last movement and remove the inscription: 'Peace will defeat war.' Glière felt it necessary to intervene and wrote a letter to the Soviet censors on behalf of Lyatoshinsky. The work was reinstated in 1955. Then problems arose with the posthumous publication of the collected works of Myaskovsky - Glière phoned the publisher, put on his regalia and went to talk with the Directorate on behalf of his late colleague.

²⁴⁶ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 98.

²⁴⁷ Levon Hakobian, *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917-1987* ([Stockholm]: Melos, 1998), p. 207.

Conclusion

Despite Glière being the chairman of the Union of Soviet Composers he served largely as a figure head with his deputy Khachaturian dealing with much of the daily business. There is no record of Glière being present at the many meetings in 1948 but his deputy Khachaturian certainly was. It is possible that after observing the fallout of proceedings in January, Glière chose to stand down as chairman but this cannot be confirmed.

Chapter 4: The Early Symphonic Works

This chapter covers Glière's first works for orchestra – two symphonies and a symphonic poem. Symphony No. 1 (1900) was written shortly after the composer's graduation from the Moscow Conservatory. Apart from his graduation piece which was a cantata for chorus and orchestra based on Lord Byron's *Earth and Sky*, until the symphony Glière had largely confined his efforts to string chamber music and lieder.

Symphony No. 1 in E flat

The First Symphony is scored conservatively for piccolo and double woodwind, brass (four horns, two trumpets, three trombones, and tuba) timpani and strings. There are no extra woodwind (e.g. cor anglais, bass clarinet) apart from piccolo. These forces are similar to those of the contemporaneous Glazunov Seventh Symphony (1902). The orchestra is basically the same size as the one which Tchaikovsky employed in his six symphonies. Certainly the Glière First Symphony cannot equal the originality of Rachmaninov's ill-fated effort of 1897²⁴⁸ or that of Scriabin whose adventurous six movement First Symphony (1900) included vocal soloists, choir, triple woodwind, extra brass and percussion. This symphony also failed to please the audience and critics despite the enthusiasm of conductor Vasily Safonov.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Bertensson and Leyda, *Sergei Rachmaninoff: A Lifetime in Music*, pp. 71-74.

²⁴⁹ Bowers, *Scriabin: A Biography of the Russian Composer, 1871-1915*, p. 269.

Glière's First symphony is conservative in nature and the composer was perhaps wary of the critics when he composed it.

The first movement is in sonata form with introduction.

The sections are:

Introduction: bars 1-29

First Subject: bar 30 of rehearsal number 1 to 3

Second Subject: bar 2 of 4 to bar 17 of 5

Development: from 6 to 12

Recapitulation: 12 to 20

Coda: 20 to end

Glière's introductory theme is stated on First Clarinet and the wind choir dominates the opening twenty four bars.

Ex. 4.1 Glière Symphony No. 1 opening 4 bars

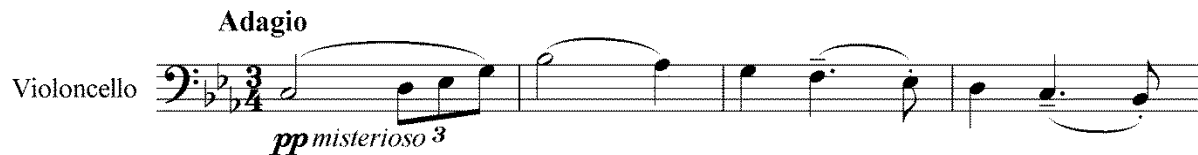
Andante



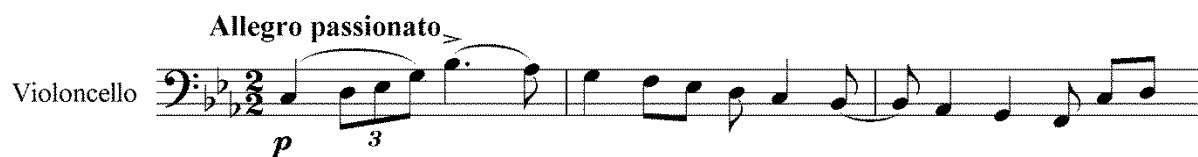
The technique of introducing a melody in the slow introduction with an identical version at a faster tempo was used by Glazunov in the first movement of his Sixth Symphony (1897). The

change in character of the theme is emphasised with the *misterioso* marking for the slower version contrasted with the *passionato* marking for the allegro version.

Ex. 4.2 Glazunov Symphony No. 6 first movement bars 1-4



Ex. 4.3 Glazunov Symphony No. 6 first movement at figure 6



. After the introduction of 29 bars, the first oboe introduces the first subject of the exposition. The material is an embroidered version of the clarinet theme at the faster speed and transposed up an octave. With syncopations adding to the interest, the theme is moved to a higher tessitura.

Ex. 4.4 Glière Symphony No. 1 first subject

Allegro moderato

Ob.

Vlc. & Vla.

The folkish nature of Glière's themes, the harmony employed and the orchestration places the writing in the *Kuchka* school. The harmonisation of the first subject uses what Frolova-Walker terms the 'Kuchka pattern', that is: 'the melodic pattern 5-#5-6- b6-5 over a static bass, normally heard in an inner voice'²⁵⁰ In Glière's first subject the pattern commences with the sharpened fifth: #5-6- b6-5-#5-6 in the accompanying second violin part.

Again the initial statement of the second subject is entrusted to the wind section and is developed in a Tchaikovskian manner

The second subject in B flat is harmonised with sharpened fifth but the flattened sixth is not present. It bears a strong resemblance to the second subject of Borodin's *Prince Igor* overture:

Ex. 4.5 Glière Symphony No. 1 from figure 4 second subject

²⁵⁰ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, pp. 141-160.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system has a Clarinet (Cl.) part in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The second system has a Flute (Fl.) part in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Both melodies start with an anacrusis and the interval of a major sixth. The melodic shape of Glière's bars 5-8 (B flat: 3,5,6,5,4,2,3,4,5,4,3) is virtually identical to the Borodin from the last quaver of bar 3-5 (D: 3,(4),5,6,5,4,

Ex. 4.6 Borodin *Prince Igor* overture four bars after figure 3

The image displays two systems of musical notation for woodwind instruments. The first system includes parts for Clarinet in A, Flute, and Bassoon. The second system includes parts for Clarinet (Cl.), Flute (Fl.), and Bassoon (Bsn.). The music is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The first system shows the Clarinet in A playing a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the Flute and Bassoon provide harmonic support with sustained notes and occasional melodic fragments. The second system shows a similar arrangement with the Clarinet, Flute, and Bassoon parts.

The role of Lisztian style non-functional chromaticism plays a relatively minor part in the symphony unlike later orchestral works particularly *Les Sirènes* and *Ilya Muromets*. It is present in the first movement from figure 5 to 6. Here the second subject is accompanied by a chromatic figure on high strings and woodwind culminating in a 12 bar chromatic sequence in contrary motion as a transition to the development (figures 6-12). This type of sequence was to occur frequently in *les Sirènes*.

Ex. 4.7 Glière Symphony No. 1 first movement 17 bars after figure 5

Score for Hn 2, Vln. 1, and Cb. (Cello).

The score is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of 16 measures, grouped into four systems of four measures each. The Hn 2 part is in the bass clef. The Vln. 1 and Cb. parts are in the treble and bass clefs respectively, and are bracketed together.

The Vln. 1 and Cb. parts feature a continuous eighth-note triplet pattern throughout the entire passage. The Hn 2 part plays a descending eighth-note scale in the first two measures, followed by a half-note rest, and then a descending eighth-note scale in the last two measures of each system.

The same passage is repeated in the recapitulation, transposed into the tonic key E flat from figure 19.

The most distinctive movement of the Glière First Symphony is the second – a scherzo. Here the composer employs a 5/4 time signature (as Tchaikovsky did in the second movement of his Symphony No. 6) but the pace is faster than Tchaikovsky's waltz-like *Allegro con grazia*.

Ex. 4.8 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo



Dvořák's Symphony No. 1 (1865) also has a distinctive scherzo which tends to overshadow the other movements. In fact the same pattern can be discerned in many of Glazunov's symphonies - the scherzi tend to be the most memorable movements.²⁵¹ The sheer variety and colour endemic to Slavonic dances enabled native composers to tap into this resource and include it in their symphonies. As Taruskin comments:

Only in the 'scherzo' slot, formerly occupied by the minuet, did Dvořák habitually write in a folkish style, substituting characteristic Czech dances like the polka and the furiant (an exuberant dance full of hemiola—rhythms) for what had often been in Haydn's day the 'peasant' movement.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Specifically symphonies 2,3,4,5,7

²⁵² Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols. (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), vol. 4, p. 754.

Glière's model for this movement is not Glazunov but Rimsky-Korsakov. Rimsky's Symphony no. 3 Op. 32 has a scherzo in 5/4 which is similar in voice leading, orchestration and texture. In many ways Glière's movement is a reworking of the original. An introductory bar is added by Glière and the melody range is narrower (Glière: major sixth, Rimsky: major sixth plus an octave). Rhythmically Glière uses quavers in four bar phrases whereas the Rimsky scherzo uses crotchets in eight bar phrases. A tonic bass pedal is present in both works but Glière's texture is lighter than Rimsky's fifths in the cellos.

There is a further parallel between the scherzo movement of Stravinsky's *Symphony in E flat* (1905-7) and the scherzo of Glière's First Symphony. Although Glière's (and Rimsky's) time signature is 5/4 and Stravinsky's 2/4, there are marked similarities in voice leading, orchestration and texture.

It is clear that it is the Rimsky-Korsakov scherzo that influenced both Glière and Stravinsky.

One would have to ask the question if Stravinsky was aware of Glière's symphony and whether he was influenced by not only Rimsky-Korsakov's scherzo but Glière's version of it as well.

Ex. 4.10 Rimsky-Korsakov Symphony No. 3 Scherzo

II.
SCHERZO.

Vivo. $\text{♩} = 88.$

2 Flauti.

2 Oboi.

2 Clarinetti in B.

2 Fagotti.

I. II.

4 Corni in F.

III. IV.

2 Trombe in B.

Timpani in Es. B.

Violini I.

pp

Violini II.

pp

Viole.

pp

Violoncelli.

divisi

pp

Contrabassi.

pizz.

pp

Vivo.

Ex. 4.11 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo

Allegro molto vivace $\text{♩} = 132$

Flauti I, II

Flauto III (Piccolo)

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti in B

2 Fagotti

4 Corni in F *mf dim.*

2 Trombe in B

2 Tenor Tromboni

Bass Trombone e Tuba

Timpani

Grand Cassa

Piatti

Violini I *Allegro molto vivace* $\text{♩} = 132$ *pp*

Violini II *divisi* *pp*

Viole *pp*

Violoncelli *p* *pp*

Contrabassi *pizz.* *pp*

Ex. 4.12 Stravinsky Symphony in E flat Scherzo

Allegretto

Flauto picc.

2 Flauti grand.

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti in B

2 Fagotti

I. II.

4 Corni in F

III. IV.

2 Trombe in B

3 Tromboni

e Tuba

Timpani

Piatti

Gr. Cassa

Triangolo

Violini I

Violini II

Viole

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

Allegretto

Ex. 4.13 Stravinsky Symphony in E flat Scherzo (continued)

61

The musical score is for measures 61-65 of the Scherzo from Stravinsky's Symphony in E-flat major. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), and Corni. The key signature is E-flat major (three flats). The score includes dynamic markings such as *cresc. poco a poco*, *mp cresc.*, *p cresc. poco a poco*, *f*, *pizz.*, and *p*. There are also first and second endings marked with '1' and '2'.

Ex. 4.14 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo trio 8 bars before figure 9

Meno mosso

The musical score is written for a Clarinet (Cl.) and Strings (Str.) in 5/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Meno mosso'. The score consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the Clarinet playing a melodic line with slurs and the Strings providing harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The second system continues the musical material, with the Clarinet and Strings interacting further. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Glière contrasts the moto perpetuo section with a legato clarinet melody in the style of a musette. The main interest is in the harmony with creating some duality but it is only when the moto perpetuo motif re-appears that the interest of the movement picks up.

The scherzo's coda springs a surprise at figure 20 with a chromatic Lisztian type sequence very similar to a passage in the third 'Mephistopheles' movement of the *Faust Symphony*. This is at 4 bars after figure Xx when Liszt portrays Faust's descent into the depths.

Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo figure 20

20

87

III (grande Flûte)

The musical score is written for a large orchestra, including a third flute part (III (grande Flûte)). The score is in 3/4 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern, primarily consisting of sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The score is divided into two systems, with the first system starting at measure 20 and the second system starting at measure 87. The first system includes a flute part (III (grande Flûte)) and a woodwind section. The second system includes a string section. The score is marked with various dynamics, including 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The score is written in a standard musical notation with a key signature of one flat and a time signature of 3/4.

Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo (continued)

88

21 poco a poco dim. 22

The musical score for measures 21 and 22 of the Scherzo from Glière's Symphony No. 1. The score is written for a woodwind section (flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons) and a string section. The woodwinds play a melodic line that begins in measure 21 with a crescendo and decrescendo. The strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment. The score is marked 'poco a poco dim.' and includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'.

21 poco a poco dim. 22

Ex. 4.15 Glière Symphony No. 1 Scherzo (continued)

89

This musical score page, numbered 89, continues the Scherzo from Glière's Symphony No. 1. It features a full orchestral arrangement with multiple staves for woodwinds, brass, strings, and percussion. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* (pianissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). A tuba part is specifically labeled with the word "Tuba". The page shows a complex texture with many instruments playing simultaneously, characteristic of a full orchestral score.

Ex. 4.16 Liszt Faust Symphony III letter Xx

180

Xx

Xx

A. G. C. B.

mf non troppo f

1. Viol. divisi

mf

2. Viol. divisi

mf legato

Br. divisi

mf legato

pizz.

mf

Xx

marc.

Ex. 4.16 Liszt Faust Symphony III

[illegible]

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Yy" by Franz Liszt. The score is written for piano (piano) and violin (Viol.) and is divided into two systems. The first system is marked "poco a poco riten." (poco a poco ritenuto) and the second system is marked "Yy". The piano part is written in G major, 2/4 time, and features a variety of musical notations, including chords, arpeggios, and trills. The violin part is written in G major, 2/4 time, and features a variety of musical notations, including chords, arpeggios, and trills. The score includes dynamic markings such as "dim." (diminuendo), "pp dim." (pianissimo diminuendo), "pizz." (pizzicato), and "Yy". The tempo marking "poco a poco riten." is repeated at the end of the second system.

Ex. 4.17 Symphony No. 1 Movement III

90

III

Andante $\text{♩} = 69$

Flauti I u. II

Flauto III (Piccolo)

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti in B

2 Fagotti

I. II

4 Corni in F

III. IV

2 Trombe in B

2 Tenor Tromboni

Bass Trombone e Tuba

Timpani in D G

Violine I

Violine II

Violenze

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

M. P. Belaieff

2543

The third movement starts with a melancholic air low on the G string of the first violins soon taken up by oboe and bassoon in octaves maintaining the bleak atmosphere. The theme is developed until figure 3 when the second subject (ex. 4.18) is given to oboe, clarinets and bassoons. In contrast with the first subject it has a lively rhythmical nature. From rehearsal

Ex. 4.18 Symphony No. 1 figure 3 second subject

M. P. Belaieff

Ex. 4.19 Symphony no. 1 Movement IV first subject

104

IV. Finale

Allegro $\text{♩} = 168$

Flauti I, II

Flauto III (Piccolo)

Oboi

2 Clarinetti in B

2 Fagotti

I II

4 Corni in F

III IV

2 Trombe in B

2 Tenor Tromboni

Bass Trombone e Tuba

Timpani B, Es

Gran Cassa

Piatti

Allegro $\text{♩} = 168$

Violini I

Violini II

Viole

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

M. P. Belaieff

2543

The finale, in sonata form, commences with a unison fanfare from the four horns carried on by strings the theme is developed up to figure 4 when the second subject is announced. It is a legato melody carried by the woodwinds. The theme is developed up to figure 8 after which the first subject is re-introduced and developed. From figure 10 to 18 both subjects are developed. There is a recapitulation at 18 and the coda commences at figure 24.

Ex. 4.20 Symphony no. 1 Movement IV second subject

112 FLIII

Ob.
Cl.
Fag.
Cor.
Truba
Tr. and Tuba
Viol.
Viola
Cello
Double Bass

M. P. Belaieff

2543

Reception

On December 21, 1902, the first performance of Glière's First Symphony was scheduled for the Fifth symphony meeting of the RMS in Moscow. The conductor Vassily Safonov made several cuts to Glière's dismay. When Glière mildly protested, Safonov said: 'You should have seen how many cuts I made to Rachmaninov's *The Rock* !'²⁵³ He continued to cut the score without consultation but although Safonov was somewhat of a tyrant to composers and orchestras he was a practical conductor and knew what would work in a concert with the number of rehearsals available; subsequently he would cut passages deemed unworkable in performance. Safonov was musical director of the New York Philharmonic from 1905-08 and had conducted the best orchestras in Europe. The performance was successful and the composer took several bows and was presented with a laurel wreath.

The next day, in *Московские ведомости* [Moscow Gazette] came a review, which noted 'the ease and richness of the musical imagination of the composer.'²⁵⁴ Soon after this Glière received a letter from Belyayev, in which he wished to invite Reinhold Moritsevich to the next season of his symphony to be performed in St. Petersburg in the Russian symphony concert. Then came a letter from Nicolas Tcherepnin with a notice that the symphony was scheduled for performance in the second of his concerts and that he was "very congenial" to the creativity of Glière. The composer wrote to his fiancée: «Хочу, чтобы обо мне все в Москве трещали», — 'that he 'had cracked' Moscow.'²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 48.

²⁵⁴ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 48.

²⁵⁵ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 48.

Rimsky-Korsakov found fault with some aspects of the orchestration and the lack of dynamic contrasts and inner life in the individual voices. In his diary he had written: ‘Not bad, but nothing special.’²⁵⁶ Rimsky would have recognised his own Third Symphony in the scherzo but did not mention this publicly.

The number of symphonies produced by the Belyayev Circle was large but not generally of great distinction. Even Glazunov’s efforts in this genre were mixed. Despite Leonid Sabaneyev’s contention that Glière’s first two symphonies ‘approach Rachmaninov’²⁵⁷; Glazunov was a far more influential model. Considering that after the disastrous premiere in 1897 of Rachmaninov’s First Symphony and the fact that it was not performed again until 1945, the symphony is unlikely to have influenced Glière anyway. Rachmaninov’s symphony was an adventurous and original work for a composer who already had significant triumphs behind him. Glière’s symphony is not especially innovative in comparison.

Even though the First Symphony is essentially derivative with many aspects of the Kuchka style barely modified, there are moments where Glière transforms the traditions and asserts his own individuality in the work. The orchestration is assured and there were original harmonic touches that were to become more pronounced in later works.

Symphony No. 2 in C minor

Although this work displays German influences reflective of the composer’s residency in Berlin, there are many Russian parallels present as well. Glière’s Second Symphony is in C

²⁵⁶ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 52. This entry does not feature in the English translation of Rimsky-Korsakov’s diary.

²⁵⁷ Sabaneyev, *Modern Russian Composers*, p. 220.

minor/major with the movements: c, g, A flat, c/C. The influences for this key scheme of movements at first appear to be Austro/Germanic rather than Russian - Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in C minor (C minor, A flat, C minor, C) and Brahms' First Symphony in C minor (C minor, E, A flat, C minor-C) and Mahler's Second Symphony (C minor, A flat, C minor, D flat, E flat). On the other hand, Taneyev's Fourth Symphony in C minor (1901) has a tonal scheme of: C minor, A flat, F, C minor/C for its movements. In Beethoven's Fifth the key of A flat is the key of the second *Andante con moto* movement and Taneyev follows this example also pitching his second movement *Adagio* in A flat.

The scoring has expanded to triple woodwind (including cor anglais and bass clarinet), three trumpets rather than two, four horns, three trombones and tuba as before but substantially extra percussion – a bass drum, cymbals, triangle, snare drum, tambourine, xylophone, glockenspiel and harp. The harp is exclusively used for the third movement and the majority of the percussion battery is reserved for the final movement. Although Glazunov had expanded his orchestra significantly for the 1890 symphonic poem *The Sea* (dedicated to Wagner), this did not reflect in the instrumental demands for his symphonies which remained modest until Symphony No. 8 in 1907.

In the following tables the woodwind, brass and harp requirements of Glière, Glazunov and Rachmaninov and Scriabin in selected symphonic works are numerated. Invariably the use of three or four flutes means the third/fourth player doubles on piccolo so this is not specified on the tables. In early Glazunov symphonies (1-4), only two oboes are used with the second player doubling on cor anglais. Glazunov never employed a contra-bassoon in his symphonies and did not use one for the heavily scored symphonic poem *The Sea* Op. 28, although one is employed in another contemporary symphonic poem *The Kremlin* Op. 30 and later works. Glazunov's instrumentation is generally conservative in the symphonies and did

not expand his orchestra to the extent that Scriabin did from the Third Symphony (*The Divine Poem*) onwards. Glière too expanded his orchestra to Scriabin's proportions after his Second Symphony. What the comparison does reveal is that Wagnerian orchestral influences were stronger on Scriabin and Glière than they were on Glazunov and Rachmaninov.

Table 4.1

Orchestration Chart Glière

| Symphony | Fl. | Ob. | C.A. | Cl. | B. Cl. | Fg. | C.Fg. | Hn. | Trp. | Hrp. |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|------|------|
| No. 1 (1901) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 2 (1908) | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| No. 3 (1912) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 2 |
| <i>Les Sirènes</i> (1908) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 2 |

Table 4.2

Orchestration Chart Glazunov

| Symphony | Fl. | Ob. | C.A. | Cl. | B.Cl. | Fg. | C.Fg. | Hn. | Trp. | Hrp. |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|------|------|
| No. 1 (1886) | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 2 (1889) | 3 | 2 | 1 (d) | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 3 (1890) | 3 | 2 | 1(d) | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| No. 4 | 3 | 2 | 1(d) | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|----------|---|
| (1894) | | | | | | | | | | |
| No. 5 (1896) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1(d) | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| No. 6 (1898) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| No. 7 (1903) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| No. 8 (1907) | 3(d. Al.Fl.) | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1(d) | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>La Mer</i> (1890) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 3+B.Trp. | 2 |

Table 4.3

Orchestration Chart Rachmaninov

| Symphony | Fl. | Ob. | C.A. | Cl. | B.Cl. | Fg. | C.Fg. | Hn. | Trp. | Hrp. |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|------|------|
| No. 1 (1897) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| No. 2 (1908) | 3 | 3 | 1(d) | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| No. 3 (1937) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>Isle of the Dead</i> (1909) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 1 |

Table 4.4

Orchestration chart Scriabin

| Symphony | Fl. | Ob. | C.A. | Cl. | B.Cl. | Fg. | C.Fg. | Hrn. | Trp. | Hrp | Choir |
|-----------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|------|-----|-------|
| No. 1 (1901) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| No. 2 (1902) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| No. 3 (1904) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 4 (1908) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 5 (1910) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 |

The opening of the Second Symphony resembles the opening of Glazunov's Eighth, Glazunov's semiquavers become Glière's triplets in the string figurations and the two horns and two bassoons of Glazunov's fanfare figure become four horn unison. The first movement has a weight which implies the influence of Wagner and Strauss which had presumably developed from Glière's time in Germany. The weight is derived from the particular instrumentation in the strings (violins on G string, violas on C string) and employs a *Sturm und Drang* style which was remarked upon by the German critic August Spanuth: 'But he possesses a little too much *Sturm und Drang* and this Second Symphony is not yet a masterpiece.'²⁵⁸ The restless *Sturm und Drang* effect is created with almost constantly present triplet movement throughout the movement with some pauses at cadence points.

²⁵⁸ Spanuth, 'Aus Berlin,' p. 144.

Ex. 4.21 Glazunov Symphony No. 8

8. SINFONIE ES-DUR

I

Allegro moderato M.M. ♩ = 100

Alexander Glasunow (1865-1936)

op. 83

op. 81

2 Flauti grandi
(I. II.)
1 Flauto c. alto
2 Oboi
1 Corno inglese
3 Clarinetti
(poi Cl. basso III)
2 Fagotti
1 Contrafagotto
4 Corni in F
I. II in B
8 Trombe
III in F
c. alto
3 Tromboni
e Tuba
Timpani
Allegro moderato
Violini I
Violini II
Viola
Violoncelli
Contrabbassi

Ex. 4.22 Glière Symphony No. 2 first movement

Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten

Deuxième Symphonie

3

R. Glière Op. 25 (1907)

Allegro pesante (♩ = 108)

Piccolo (Flauto III)

Flauti I II

2 Oboi

Corno Inglese

2 Clarinetti in B

Clarinetto Basso in B (Clarinetto III)

I II

Fagotti

III

I II

4 Corni in F

III IV

2 Trombe in B

3 Tromboni e Tuba

Timpani

Piatti

Allegro pesante (♩ = 108)

Violini I

Violini II

Viole

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

The second movement bears a resemblance to the fourth movement scherzo from Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 3. Tchaikovsky employs an ascending motif on violin 1 with solo clarinet answering with the motif inverted. This appears to be more effective scherzo writing than Glière's rather problematic scoring. The high oboe tessitura in bar 3 could only be executed well by professional players. This exposed entry on flute and oboe would invariably cause intonation problems and would not have arisen if flute 2 had doubled flute 1 as it is comfortably within the flute's range. Glière's own recording of this symphony in 1949 with the Moscow Radio Symphony Orchestra is hardly convincing in this passage. The composer would have been impressed by the higher orchestral standards in Berlin and was writing for better players but he may have over-estimated the capabilities of even the best instrumentalists.

Ex. 4.23 Glière Symphony No. 2 Scherzo

II

Allegro giocoso $\text{♩} = 188$

I

Piccolo (Flauto 3)

Flauti 1 2

2 Oboi

Corno Inglese

2 Clarinetti in B

Clarinetto Basso in B

I II Fagotti

III

I II 4 Corni in F

III IV

2 Trombe in B

3 Tromboni e Tuba

Timpani

Piatti

Triangolo

Allegro giocoso $\text{♩} = 188$

Violini I

Violini II

Viole

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

I

Ex. 4.24 Tchaikovsky Symphony No. 3 Scherzo

IV. Scherzo

Allegro vivo

Piccolo

Flauto I

Flauto II

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti in A

2 Fagotti

I
II

Corni in F

III
IV

Trombone ten. solo

Timpani Fis. H

con sordini
pizz.

Violini I

arco

con sordini
pizz.

Violini II

arco

con sordini
pizz.

Viole

arco

con sordini
pizz.

Celli

pizz.

con sordini
pizz.

C. Bassi

Allegro vivo

The third movement of the symphony is the zenith of Glière's orchestral writing thus far – it consists of a set of variations which exploit a range of orchestral colour and dance rhythms which point the way forward to the composer's balletic success in the 1920s with *The Red Poppy*.

Although the cor anglais melody (with a passing resemblance to the opening theme of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto) is in Kuchka style, the accompanying harmony is not. The tonic pedal is not sustained throughout as it would be in conventional Kuchka style and the texture accompanied by harp and divisi lower strings is fuller, more chorale-like than the composer's style in the First Symphony.

Ex. 4.25 Glière Symphony No. 2 third movement theme

Andante

mf

Andante

Cor Anglais

Harp

Viola

Violoncello

C. A.

Hp.

Vla.

Vc.

The exceptional variations are:

Variation 1 *Poco piu mosso*. The virtuosic writing for woodwinds suggests that Glière was aware of the superior technique of players in Berlin and wrote for them accordingly. The writing for solo B flat clarinet with a higher tessitura than normally demanded is a feature of this variation.

Ex. 4.26 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation I

138 Var. I.
Poco più mosso $\text{♩} = 84$

First system of the musical score for Var. I, 'Poco più mosso' ($\text{♩} = 84$). The system includes staves for Fl. I, Fl. II, Ob., C. ingl., Cl., Cl. Bs., Fag., and strings (Vie., V. celi., C. B.). The Fl. I and Fl. II parts feature rapid sixteenth-note passages. The C. ingl. part has a melodic line with a crescendo. The Cl. and Cl. Bs. parts play a rhythmic pattern. The Fag. part has a melodic line. The strings are mostly silent, with some pizzicato in the V. celi. and C. B. parts.

Fl. I
Fl. II
Ob.
C. ingl.
Cl.
Cl. Bs.
Fag.
Vie.
V. celi.
C. B.

6

Poco più mosso $\text{♩} = 84$

Second system of the musical score for Var. I, 'Poco più mosso' ($\text{♩} = 84$). The system includes staves for Vl. I, Vl. II, and strings (Vie., V. celi., C. B.). The Vl. I and Vl. II parts have melodic lines. The strings are mostly silent, with some pizzicato in the Vie. and V. celi. parts.

Vl. I
Vl. II
Vie.
V. celi.
C. B.

6

Third system of the musical score for Var. I, 'Poco più mosso' ($\text{♩} = 84$). The system includes staves for Fl., Ob., C. ingl., Cl., Cl. Bs., Fag., Vl. I, Vl. II, and strings (Vie., V. celi., C. B.). The Fl. part has a melodic line. The Ob. and C. ingl. parts have melodic lines. The Cl. and Cl. Bs. parts play a rhythmic pattern. The Fag. part has a melodic line. The Vl. I and Vl. II parts have melodic lines. The strings are mostly silent, with some pizzicato in the Vie. and V. celi. parts.

Fl.
Ob.
C. ingl.
Cl.
Cl. Bs.
Fag.
Vl. I
Vl. II
Vie.
V. celi.
C. B.

uniss. pizz.

Variation II *Vivace*

As with the scherzo movement of the First Symphony, Glière uses a moto perpetuo to display the virtuosity of the string section.

Ex. 4.27 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation II Vivace moto perpetuo bars 5-11

Vivace

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each containing four staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The time signature is 3/4, and the key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first system (bars 5-8) begins with a *pp* dynamic. Violin I and II play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, while the Viola plays a similar pattern with a *pp pizz.* marking. The Violoncello plays a simple eighth-note pattern. The second system (bars 9-11) continues the texture, with the Violoncello now playing a more complex pattern. The third system (bars 12-14) shows a more dense texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the strings.

Variation 4 *Scherzando*. This variation is remarkable for the harmonics which are given to *divisi* second violins. Again this demonstrates that Glière was writing for ensembles that were

technically more proficient than were in Russia at the time.

Ex. 4.28 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation IV scherzando

Var. IV.
Scherzando $\text{♩} = 96$

Fl. I 23

Fl. II *sempre stacc.*

Fl. III *sempre stacc.*

Ob.

C. ingl.

Cl. in A

Fag. I II

Glockenspiel

Arpa *sempre stacc.*

Vi. I Scherzando $\text{♩} = 96$

Vi. II

Vle

V.-celli *div. a 3*

C.-B. *pizz.*

Variation 5 *Allegro* this variation is a gopak-like dance movement which anticipates the Soviet Sailors' Dance from *The Red Poppy*. The use of the percussion battery is probably more typical of a Tchaikovsky ballet score than an Austro-Germanic symphony and critic Spanuth did comment that some variations were too light in his opinion.

Ex. 4.29 Glière Symphony No. 2 Variation V allegro

162

31

Fl. II

Ob.

C. ingl.

Cl. I II

Cl. III

Fag.

Cor.

Tr. ba

Tr. ba e Tuba

Timp.

Gr. C.

Piatti

Trglo

Tbrno

Arpa

Vi. I

Vi. II

Vle

Vcelli

C. B.

31

192

This variation movement is the most distinctive in the symphony and points forward to the future directions that Glière would take. Berlin critic Spanuth believed that ‘the variations are always compelling’ and this was high praise from an exacting reviewer.²⁵⁹

The Finale movement incorporates many features of Russian orientalism with its lezginka rhythms which has similarities to the fourth movement of Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Scheherazade* and thus identifies with certain characteristics of Russian orientalism.

Ex. 4.30 Glière Symphony No. 2 Finale first subject

Allegro vivace

Vln. Vla.

ff Cl. Tamb.

²⁵⁹ 'Aus Berlin.'

Ex. 4.31 Glière Symphony No. 2 Finale second subject

$\text{♩} = 92$
Vln.
mf
Vlc. Vla. Fg.

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a treble staff (Violin) and a bass staff (Violoncello/Viola/Double Bass). The key signature is G major (one sharp, F#). The time signature is 12/8. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 92$. The Violin part is marked *mf* (mezzo-forte). The Violoncello/Viola/Double Bass part is marked with a *mf* dynamic. The score shows a continuous eighth-note melody in the Violin part and a harmonic accompaniment in the Vlc. Vla. Fg. part. The first system has a 12/8 time signature, the second has a 6/8 time signature, and the third has a 12/8 time signature. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Glière seems to be at his most effective when employing dance rhythms and being able to showcase his orchestration skills as in the third movement. The attempted symphonicism of the first movement in the nature of Brahms or Taneyev is not entirely convincing. Neither is the scherzo which lacks the memorability of that of the First Symphony.

In the first two movements of the Second Symphony there is a certain stridency (which Berlin critic August Spanuth observed) and it is perhaps here where the influence of German composers Brahms was strongest. There is also a tendency for Glière to employ blended timbres in the Second Symphony in the winds rather than the more soloistic primary colours of the First.

Les Sirènes

According to Zoya Gulinskaya this symphonic poem was first conceived when the composer visited the Adriatic coast in 1904.²⁶⁰ It remained a work in progress until its completion late in 1908 after Glière's return to Russia from Berlin. The years spent in Germany had greatly influenced the piece as Glière moved into a Wagnerian phase. The scenario that the composer chose from Homer's *Odyssey* combined many elements that were present in late romanticism - the sea, forbidden love and myth.

Early romantic depictions of the sea include three overtures by Mendelssohn,²⁶¹ and Wagner's opera *The Flying Dutchman* (1843). *Tristan und Isolde* (1865) also includes a significant nautical component but it is the harmonic and motivic structures of the opera that would seem to wield the most influence on Glière. Possible French influences are Chausson's

²⁶⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 63.

²⁶¹ *The Hebrides* Op. 26, *Calm Sea Prosperous Voyage* Op. 27 and *Melusine* Op. 32

Viviane op. 5 1882, *Poème de l'amour et de la mer*, Op.19 and the Dukas favourite *L'Apprenti Sorcier* (1897). Russian precedents for *Les Sirènes* include Rimsky-Korsakov's many tributes to the sea: *Sadko* Op. 5 (1867) *Scheherazade* Op. 35, *By the Sea* Op. 46, *Sadko* opera (1896), *The Tale of Tsar Saltan* (1900), and the cantata *A Page from Homer* Op. 60. Other possible Russian influences are: Taneyev's opera *Oresteia* (1895), Tchaikovsky's early symphonic fantasia *The Tempest* (1873), the early Rachmaninov lied Op. 21 No. 5 'Siren' and Glazunov's symphonic poem *The Sea* Op. 28 (1893). Antonin Dvořák's symphonic poem *The Water Goblin* op. 107 and opera *Rusalka* op. 114 are possible Slavonic influences. There is little or no correlation with the more Germanic tone poems of Richard Strauss which tended to be about heroic subjects (*Don Juan*, *Ein Heldenleben*), anti-heroes (*Till Eulenspiegel*) or even philosophy (*Also Sprach Zarathustra*). Glière's Third Symphony portraying the heroic figure of Ilya Muromets on the other hand can point to much more influence from the tone poems particularly *Ein Heldenleben* and *Also Sprach Zarathustra*.

A parallel work composed in 1907-1908 (and in the same location where both Rachmaninov and Glière were living at the time - Germany), Rachmaninov's *Isle of the Dead* also depicts a Greek myth but in most other respects is very different. In particular Rachmaninov's primarily diatonic harmonies are quite dissimilar to the highly charged chromaticism of *Les Sirènes*. Although there are some chromatic passages, namely from figure 21 to 22, the Rachmaninov work depends more on a predominant ostinato motif and with the use of sustained harmonic pedals tends to possess more tonal stability than the Glière work.

Ex. 4.32 Rachmaninov Isle of the Dead ostinato motif



Glazunov's 1893 Wagnerian fantasy *The Sea* is a world away from the conservative idiom of his symphonies. The work features surprising passages using Lisztian chromaticism (ex. 4.33), the whole tone scale, advanced instrumental techniques including flutter tonguing and trombone glissandi which would have been considered avant garde at the time. *The Sea* does not continue in the same vein though and at letter C in the score Glazunov reverts to normal Glazunov style having displayed his armoury of effects. There is a kinship between this piece and the fourth movement of Scriabin's Second Symphony which is marked *Tempestoso* and employs a Lisztian motif.

Ex. 4.33 Glazunov The Sea

Allegro

Ex. 4.33 shows two systems of musical notation in bass clef, 6/8 time. The top system is labeled 'Vlc.' and the bottom system is labeled 'Cb.'. Both systems feature a chromatic passage with dynamics 'pp' and 'mf' indicated. The notation includes slurs and ties across measures.

As noted in Figure 1 Glière's orchestra has expanded from triple to quadruple woodwind, four horns to six horns, two harps, celesta, glockenspiel, cymbals, tam tam and a large string section where first and second violins, violas and cellos are frequently divided into four.

Les Sirènes shares an affinity with French Wagnerian symphonic poems particularly Ernest Chausson's *Viviane*. The similarity of the opening bars of *Viviane* and the opening of *Sirènes* are unmistakable. Muted divided strings, sequential chromatic movement over an F pedal to a climactic cadence point. There are points of divergence - Chausson's rate of harmonic change is faster and the use of Franckian harmony including diminished sevenths, augmented sixth chords on the flattened second degree of the scale resolving to the tonic, is somewhat different to Glière's augmented-minor harmonic patterns (ex. 4.36).

Ex.4.34 Chausson *Viviane* bars 5-13

Andante

Violin I *pp* con sord.

Violin II *pp*

Viola *pp*

Violoncello *pp*

Double Bass

F D^{o7} E^b D^{b7} F B^{o7} C⁷ F

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Db.

E^bm A^{o7} A^bm E^bm F⁷ E^bm A^bm E^bm F

Ex. 4.35 Glière *Les Sirènes* bars 1-13

Andante

con sord.

Viola 2

pp con sord.

Viola 4

pp

Double Bass 1

ppp

Vla.

Vla.

Db.

Vla.

Vla.

Db.

Vla.

Vla.

Db.

Glière has developed a system of leitmotifs primarily derived from *Tristan und Isolde* and *die Walküre*. These include the ship motif (Ex. 4.35), the sea (Ex. 4.37 and 4.50), the sirens (Ex. 4.39 and 4.48), and desire (Ex. 4.41 etc.) in various permutations. Although a theme similar to the ship motif appeared in Chausson's *Viviane*, there is no guarantee that Glière was familiar with the work. It is broadly related to the sleep motif from *die Walküre*.²⁶² The sirens second motif - which is a fanfare in the minor key - is strongly reminiscent of the minor key fanfare at the beginning of Scene 1, Act II of *Tristan und Isolde* (Ex. 4.39). Glière's desire motif (Ex.4.34) appears to be based on the death motif from *Tristan und Isolde* (Ex. 4.36).

Mariya Leonova's analysis describes the form of *Sirènes* as ternary with features of sonata form. Her three sections are: 'main part to 14, linking section 14 to 19, secondary part 19 to 32, epilogue 32 to 36, development 36 to 42, recapitulation 42 to 62.'²⁶³ What Leonova does not reveal is Glière's tightly constructed architecture which is based on the motifs. The arrangement of the various motifs is coherent with the narrative of the legend but does not coincide necessarily with any existing conventional form.

The exposition of the ship motif (to figure 9), exhibits considerable tonal instability over an F pedal. Example 4.30 shows that the tonic, F minor, is established tentatively in bars 2 and 4 ranging through vagrant harmony until briefly settling on the tonic in root position at figure 7. Chords of the augmented fifth (10) predominate over minor chords (6), diminished fifth (7) and diminished seventh chords (3). The only augmented sixth chord in this extract is located at the cadential point in bar 30 where it makes the maximum impact leading on to the

²⁶² Number 16 of Donington's Ring motifs in Robert Donington, *Wagner's Ring and Its Symbols : The Music and the Myth* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 282.

²⁶³ M. F. Leonova, *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnokhastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel* (Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1962), pp. 19-23.

sleep sequence. Glière's harmonic method demonstrates a preference for augmented fifth chords with lesser amounts of diminished and augmented sixth chords.

Ex. 4.36 *Les Sirènes* harmonic outline to figure 7

Chord progression for measures 1-9:

- Measure 1: $D\flat^+$
- Measure 2: Fm
- Measure 3: $D\flat^+$
- Measure 4: Fm
- Measure 5: $A\flat m$
- Measure 6: A^+
- Measure 7: $A\flat m$ (boxed 1)
- Measure 8: A^+
- Measure 9: $B\flat^\circ$

Chord progression for measures 10-19:

- Measure 10: G°
- Measure 11: $D\flat$ (boxed 2)
- Measure 12: $D\flat^+$
- Measure 13: $B\flat^7$
- Measure 14: Dm
- Measure 15: $B\flat^7$ (boxed 3)
- Measure 16: $B\flat^7$
- Measure 17: F°
- Measure 18: $D^\circ 7$
- Measure 19: $A\flat m$ (boxed 4)

Chord progression for measures 20-29:

- Measure 20: $A\flat^+$
- Measure 21: $A^\circ 7$
- Measure 22: $A^\circ 7$
- Measure 23: $B^\circ 7$ (boxed 5)
- Measure 24: Cm
- Measure 25: A°
- Measure 26: A°
- Measure 27: A°
- Measure 28: A°
- Measure 29: A°

Chord progression for measures 30-39:

- Measure 30: C^+
- Measure 31: $D\flat^+$ (boxed 6)
- Measure 32: $E\flat^+$
- Measure 33: $A\flat^+$
- Measure 34: $C^7(\flat 5)$ (boxed 7)
- Measure 35: Fm
- Measure 36: Fm
- Measure 37: Fm
- Measure 38: Fm
- Measure 39: Fm

Glière's scenario is based on the twelfth book of Homer's *The Odyssey*. Robert Graves describes the sirens as: 'singing daughters of Earth who beguiled sailors to the meadows of their island, where the bones of former victims lay mouldering in heaps ... Their home is variously given as the Sirensian Islands off Paestum; Capri; and "close to Sicilian Cape Plorus"'²⁶⁴ Graves further describes the nature of the island and the time when ships were the most vulnerable to the sirens: 'The sirens lived on a green sepulchral island ... and proved particularly dangerous in windless weather at midday, the time of sunstroke and siesta-nightmares.'²⁶⁵

Glière's scenario is as follows:

The sirens those fabulous beings of Greek legend, inhabited an island in the middle of the sea. With their melodious song they attracted sailors, who, forgetting everything around them and unable to resist the fatal singing, steered their vessels towards the island of the treacherous sirens where they smashed on hidden rocks.

*The sea. The island of the sirens. The approach of the vessel. The song of the sirens.*²⁶⁶

The description of the action as printed in the score is rather general and there are many events in the piece which are not specified. On the other hand Glière does appear to be following the episode as depicted by Homer (not printed in the score) quite closely if not strictly.

While yet I speak the winged galley flies, And lo! the Siren shores like mists arise. Sunk
were at once the winds; the air above, And waves below, at once forgot to move; Some

²⁶⁴ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 2, Penguin Books (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 249.

²⁶⁵ *The Greek Myths*, 2, p. 368.

²⁶⁶ Reinhold Moritseovich Glière, *Die Sirenen : Symphonisches Gedicht Für Grosses Orchester = Les Sirènes : Poème Symphonique Pour Grand Orchestre*, Op. 33 (Frankfurt: Belaieff, 1987), p. 2.

demon calm'd the air and smooth'd the deep, Hush'd the loud winds, and charm'd the waves to sleep.²⁶⁷

The type of semiotic method advocated by Eero Tarasti would enable the motifs to be deciphered utilising the Wagnerian derivations of most of them.²⁶⁸ For example the 'sleep' motif from Wagner's *Ring des Niblungen* which appears at figure 7 (Example 4.40) could quite reasonably associated with the sirens. This motif remains completely undeveloped in the rest of the piece suggesting that it is intended as a quotation.

The first sea motif consists of arpeggio patterns which can be found in Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* and *Sadko*. Glière divides his cellos and basses to obtain an intricate pattern of constant movement on an F pedal.

Ex. 4.37 Sea motif 1

Andante



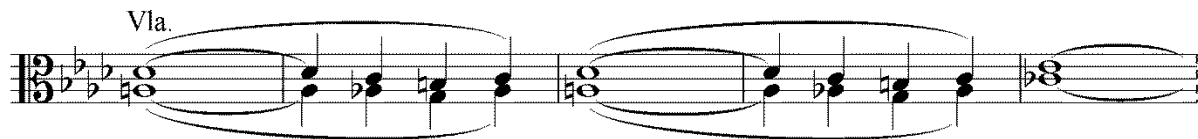
The ship motif (Ex. 4.38) is developed in ascending sequences to figure 7. After the first sirens' song from figure 7 to 10, the motif returns moving in descending sequences at a faster

²⁶⁷ Homer and Alexander Pope, *The Odyssey*, (1992). p. 212.

²⁶⁸ Tarasti, *Myth and Music : A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, Especially That of Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky*, p. 186.

rate than the ascent from figure 11 to 14. After a brief re-statement from figure 16-17, it is not until figure 65 that this motif is heard again surely negating Leonova's theory that the recapitulation (which surely must include this motif to be a proper recapitulation) begins at figure 62.

Ex. 4.38 Ship motif



The sleep motif sequence which consists of three statements on respectively F, G sharp and B, demonstrating mediant progression harmonic construction, culminates in a climactic cadence point at two bars after figure 9 featuring a B flat ninth chord followed by a French sixth emphasising the whole tone harmony where the composer is possibly reflecting the ship becalmed in the ocean.

Glière's use of the sleep sequence differs from Wagner in that it is built sequentially in 2 bar units. Harmonisation of the descending chromatic scale is similar with the rising thirds of the respective bass lines. Harmonic rhythm is different however with Glière restricting chord change to one per bar (minor to German sixth) whereas Wagner's chord changes tend to be twice per bar (with predominantly major chords).

At figure 14 the vessel has discovered some forward movement and the first variant of the desire motif (Ex. 4.41) is introduced. This motif is subject to significant development and has seven variants.

Ex. 4.39 Glière *Les Sirènes* fig. 7 initial song of the sirens

Andante

Fl.
Cl.
C. Fg.
Hn.

Ex. 4.40 Wagner *die Walküre* Act III, Third Scene²⁶⁹

Fl., Cor. A., Fg.
Str.
B Cl.
Wotan

In fes - ten Schlaf ver - schliess' ich dich: -

The desire motif is related to the two quoted themes of *Tristan und Isolde* in various ways. Rhythmically the Wagner themes are essentially the same but melodically death is the

²⁶⁹ Wagner, *Die Walküre*, p. 950.

inversion of day. Glière's desire motif is closely related to Wagner's death motif and as with the sleep theme from *die Walküre* this may have been intentional as in the scenario of *Les Sirènes*, desire leads to death.

Ex. 4.41 Desire motif fig, 14

Allegretto
Cor. A., Vln., Vlc.

Ex. 4.42 *Tristan und Isolde* Act II opening - Day motif

Ex. 4.43 *Tristan und Isolde* Act II Death motif

Cor. A. Ob.
Cl.

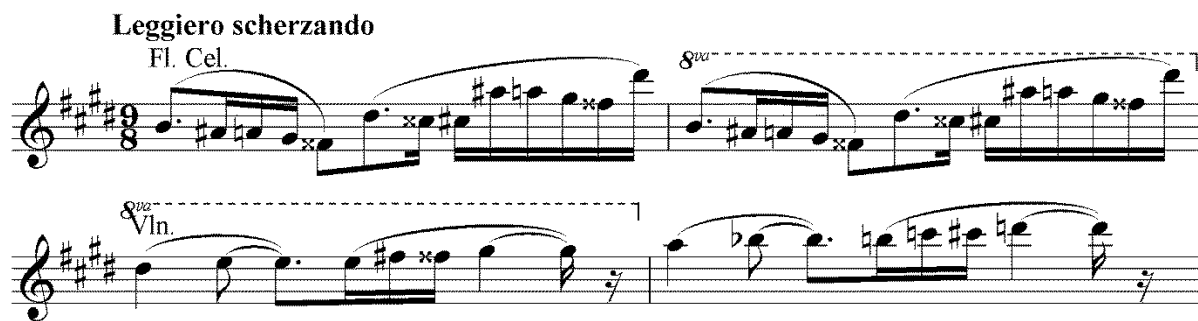
The appearance of the first desire motif (Ex. 4.41) is accompanied by a figure for three flutes and harp (Ex. 4.44) which is rather like the opening bars of Bedřich Smetana's 'Vltava' from *Má Vlast*. The heavy foreboding atmosphere of the opening has lifted - temporarily as it happens - to a scherzo-like passage portraying waves. As the waves grow, they transform into another scherzo theme at figure 19 (Ex. 4.45) and the wave and desire motifs are developed together from figures 19 to 32.

Ex. 4.44 figure 14 scherzo motif 1

Allegretto

The musical score is for three flutes (Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Fl. 3) and is in 6/8 time. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows Fl. 2 and Fl. 3. The second system shows Fl. 1 and Fl. 2. The music is in a key with three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes with many accidentals.

Ex. 4.45 figure 19 scherzo motif 2

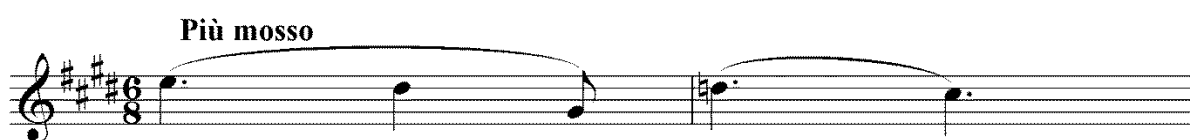


It is during this passage that the likeness between Glière's symphonic poem and Stravinsky's early work *Scherzo Fantastique* is most noticeable. This is partly due to the orchestration employed with celesta and harps doubling flutes but also the harmony which uses mediant progressions (e.g. from figure 20 to 21 Glière uses the progression B- G#-F-D outlining a diminished seventh) similar to Stravinsky's processes in his scherzo. At figure 25 the desire motif is broadened and becomes the dominant idea rather than a dialogue between the waves and itself. At figure 27 there is a return to the scherzo figure (Ex. 4.45) which is developed sequentially until figure 29 when the desire motif is becomes faster and more urgent (ex. 4.47). This dissolves into descending chromatic tremolandi which settle on a sea motif (ex. 4.50) which is considerably calmer than the first variant (ex. 4.37).

Ex. 4.46 Desire motif rhythmic augmentation fig. 25



Ex. 4.47 Desire variation fig. 29



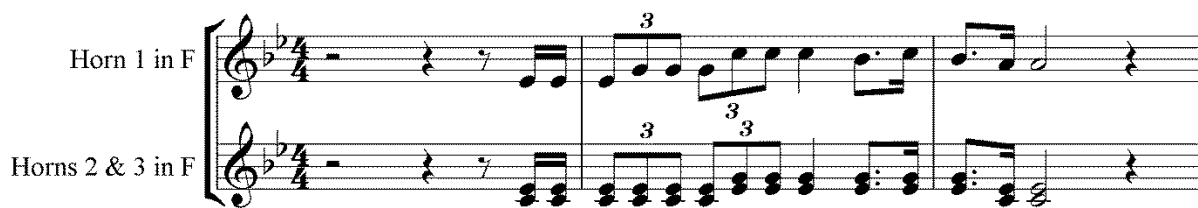
Ex. 4.48 Fanfare motif fig. 32 siren song 2

Molto tranquillo Hn. a2 con sord *pp*

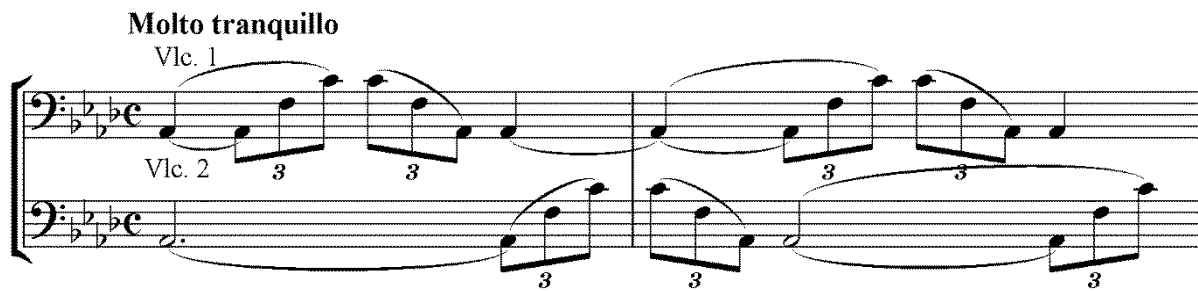
The second appearance of the sirens is sounded by two muted horns with a minor key fanfare (ex. 4.48). The precedent for this occurs in the extensive horn fanfare, also in the minor, from Act II of *Tristan und Isolde* (ex. 4.49). Glière undermines the tonality of his fanfare by placing the bass pedal on A flat implying that it is the tonic. Even though the fifth of the chord - E flat - is not present there is an implication that F in the horns is an added sixth to an

A flat chord. The dissonance is increased when the bass moves up a fourth to D flat creating the false impression of a conventional chordal progression creating a dissonance between the C of the horns (and cello) and the bass. With these methods the composer creates tonal instability beneath a normally tonal device.

Ex. 4.49 *Tristan und Isolde* Act II horn fanfare (at pitch) ²⁷⁰



Ex. 4.50 Sea motif 2 fig. 32



²⁷⁰ Wagner, *Tristan Und Isolde* p. 216.

As the fanfare broadens into fuller harmony, Glière introduces a chromatic ostinato figure in the bass (ex. 4.52) which is a development of the second scherzo motif (ex. 4.45). The composer, with a touch of genius, has transformed the bright scherzo motif into a sinister ostinato which undermines the fanfare figure and ultimately leads to the destruction of the vessel and the sailors. The fanfare is developed with antiphonal answering calls between horns and woodwind (ex. 4.51) leading to a unison statement three bars before figure 41. The momentum generated by the ostinato is interrupted by brief two dream-like episodes based on a diminished ninth chord at figure 39 (C sharp) and 41 (B flat) with prominent harp glissandi. These episodes are strikingly similar to passages in the second movement of the Symphony No. 3 *Ilya Muromets* from figures 5 to 8.²⁷¹ Eventually at figure 42 the ostinato overcomes the fanfare leading into the apotheosis of the work.

Ex. 4.51 full fanfare motif fig. 36

²⁷¹ Reinhold Moritseovich Glière, *Ilya Muromets : Troisième Symphonie, (H-Moll), Pour Grande Orchestre, Op. 42*, 4 vols. (New York: E. F. Kalmus), Vol. 2, pp. 132-124.

Ex. 4.52 bass ostinato from fig. 36 - transformation of scherzo motif



Ex. 4.53 Desire (fulfilled) motif extended fig, 43



This variant of the theme has an extension in an unusual time signature taking the melody to twelve bars. In its fulfilled version the melody dominates from figure 43 to 55 with eight

Ex. 4.55 Desire motif rhythmic augmentation fig. 58



The cataclysmic point of the work is reached in the third bar after figure 62 when the sinking of the vessel is portrayed with a French sixth chord on high winds and tremelando strings accompanied by an *ff* tam- tam stroke. The descent to oblivion is rapid and concludes on a sombre tonic F minor chord.

Ex. 4.56 fig. 62 destruction of the vessel

87

The musical score is for a large orchestra and includes various woodwind, brass, and percussion parts. The score is written in a single system with multiple staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'cresc.' (crescendo). The score includes various dynamic markings such as 'cresc.', 'senza sordini', 'senza sordino', 'cresc. molto', 'laissez vibrer', and 'senza dim.'. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at measure 62 and the second system starting at measure 62. The score is for a large orchestra and includes various woodwind, brass, and percussion parts. The score is written in a single system with multiple staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'cresc.' (crescendo). The score includes various dynamic markings such as 'cresc.', 'senza sordini', 'senza sordino', 'cresc. molto', 'laissez vibrer', and 'senza dim.'. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at measure 62 and the second system starting at measure 62.

M. P. Belaieff

2938

senza dim.

Conclusion

1908-1909 saw a proliferation of Russian symphonic poems as well as *Les Sirènes*. There were Rachmaninov's *Isle of the Dead*, Stravinsky's *Scherzo Fantastique* Op. 3, Anatoly Liadov's *Enchanted Lake* Op. 62 and *Kikimora* Op. 63. The Stravinsky piece uses biting upper register sonorities (D clarinet, muted trumpets) to portray the bees of a scenario based on Maurice Maeterlinck's *La Vie des Abeilles*. From figures 19 to 29, with the marking *leggiero scherzando*, Glière's *Sirènes* most resembles Stravinsky's scherzo particularly in the orchestration with haps and celesta prominent.

The octatonic and whole tone harmonies employed by Stravinsky include many augmented sixth chords but as is evident in ex. 4.30, as already stated, Glière tends to prefer augmented fifth chords with the only French Sixth chord in the example, at the cadence just before figure 7. The same harmonic techniques are employed in the second movement of the *Ilya Muromets* symphony. In contrast to this Chausson eschews augmented fifth chords in preference to augmented sixth chords.

In comparison with the first two symphonies, Glière's orchestration has developed to a new level - his organisation of timbral groups becomes more sophisticated with the contrast between the static darkness of the introduction with divided, muted lower strings and the brightness of the central scherzo section with celesta, two harps and flutes to the fore. Stravinsky used three harps and celesta in his scherzo and was aiming at a late Rimsky-Korsakov inspired sonority as expressed in the operas *The Invisible City of Kitezh* (1904) and *The Golden Cockerel* (1907).

There are two recordings of the piece in circulation, the best being a 1985 recording from the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra under Stephen Gunzenhauser. The other recording available

is with the Moscow State Radio and TV Orchestra under Vladimir Esipov which is only available for download. The Slovakian performance has the better brass and wind playing whereas the late Soviet era performance despite a larger string section, suffers from inaccurate brass, unbalanced recording and the tempi are often considerably slower than the composer's indications.

Les Sirènes is a link between the orthodoxy of the First and Second Symphony and the more unconventional Wagnerian Third Symphony. Glière's symphonic poem is a direct predecessor to the second movement of the Third Symphony with which it shares many features. The prominence of augmented fifth harmonies communicating tension and alarm, the presence of extended melody and the skill *par excellence* of the orchestration all point the way forward to Glière's greatest Russian work.

When it was composed in 1908, *Les Sirènes* was a relatively progressive work. It did not push the boundaries as Scriabin did in *The Poem of Ecstasy* or Schoenberg similarly in *Five Orchestral Pieces Op. 16* but the acceleration of modernism in music was to come after *Les Sirènes* and its successor Symphony No. 3 *Ilya Muromets* were composed. At this stage Glière was not a transitional figure as he was in the mainstream of musical composition.

Chapter 5

Ilya Muromets

The Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets* (1911) was written for large orchestra including quadruple woodwind and eight horns. Glière's orchestra has expanded to the size of Wagner's forces in the Ring cycle. The symphony was dedicated to Alexander Glazunov. The spirit of the age in Russia, parallel to the Symbolist movement, had an intense interest in early Russian folklore and myth. Examples of this include Borodin's Second Symphony nicknamed *Bogatyr* (1877), Rimsky-Korsakov's 1905 opera *The Invisible City of Kitezh*, Viktor Vasnetsov's painting 'Three Bogatyrs' (1898) (which featured mythic heroes Dobrynya Nikitich, Ilya Muromets and Alyosha Popovich) and Alexander Grechaninov whose opera *Dobrynya Nikitich* was performed at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1904.

A long line of heroic symphonies goes back to Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony (1805), Franz Liszt's *Héroïde funèbre* (1849–50) and *Faust Symphony* (1857) and the first Slav epic in the genre, Bedřich Smetana's *Má Vlast* (1882).²⁷³ More recently there had been Richard Strauss' autobiographical *Ein Heldenleben* (1898) and Bela Bartók's *Kossuth* (1904) which caused an outbreak of Hungarian nationalism at its first performance. The last part of *Má Vlast*, 'Blaník', has a story which is remarkably similar to the end of *Ilya Muromets*. In myth, Blaník, a mountain in central Bohemia, is the resting place of knights who would rescue the country from danger. Smetana's version includes the defeated fighters of the Hussite Wars sounding the Hussite chorale when the warriors arise. In contrast, Glière's

²⁷³*Má Vlast* was a cycle of six symphonic poems based on Bohemian national myths.

chorale formed from the znamenny chant which is quoted in the score's prologue depicts Ilya Muromets and the bogatyrs overwhelmed by heavenly forces and petrified to stone. In creating the music of the life and exploits of folk hero Ilya of Murom, the composer did not deviate from the standard version of the epic which ends in the death, by petrification, of the hero.

Ilya Muromets is the highpoint of Glière's Russian period. It is a long work at eighty minutes and is substantially longer than most other Russian symphonies.²⁷⁴ The work is a hybrid of the Lisztian symphonic poem and a symphony of Mahlerian proportions in fact, depending on performance time²⁷⁵; the dimensions of the Third would equal most Mahler symphonies or even surpass them. The colourful scenario and its orchestral demands has given it a certain cult status. Its highly characterised instrumentation makes it a showpiece for orchestra which was recognised by conductor Leopold Stokowski, who performed the piece many times, albeit in abridged versions.²⁷⁶ This led to many audio recordings, at first, in cut versions by Stokowski and Frederick Stock on 78 r.p.m. discs until Long Playing recording technology enabled the first uncut recording in 1952. In all, judging by Geoffrey Bushell's website,²⁷⁷ circa eighteen recordings have been made of the symphony.²⁷⁸

Inevitably the symphony has its doubters - David Brown described the work thus: 'This epic piece must earn admiration if only for the enormous time span over which the pictorial

²⁷⁴ With the exception of Boris Tishchenko's Fourth Symphony (1966).

²⁷⁵ Recordings of the uncut version vary between 72 (Botstein) and 92 minutes (Farberman).

²⁷⁶ Details of these cuts are given later in the chapter.

²⁷⁷ Bushell, Geoffrey. 2015. *Reinhold Glière*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.Glière.org.uk/index.htm>. [Accessed 03 July 15]

²⁷⁸ In comparison the First Symphony has received three, Second Symphony four and *Les Sirènes* two recordings respectively.

vividness is sustained, despite the slender substance of the musical material.²⁷⁹ *Ilya Muromets* cannot be seen as a conventional symphony. Maya Pritsker in programme notes for the Telarc recording was also sceptical about the work.²⁸⁰

The Heroic Motif

The origin of the heroic symphonic genre - very much a hallmark of the romantic era - can be traced back to 1804 when Beethoven composed his *Eroica* Symphony. This is confirmed by Eero Tarasti who considered Beethoven to be : ‘one of the creators of the hero-mythical style, particularly in his *Eroica* symphony ...’²⁸¹ Although it is a thematically unified work, Beethoven does not recycle his motifs in different movements although they are obviously related.

Ex. 5.1 Beethoven Symphony No. 3 *Eroica* I first subject



Beethoven's theme displays characteristics which are common to the majority of heroic motifs, that is, they are triadic in nature. The triadic aspect reflects the nature of horn calls and other brass instruments that are associated with the heroic.

²⁷⁹ Layton, *A Companion to the Symphony*, p. 278.

²⁸⁰ Reinhold Moritseovich Glière, *Ilya Muromets Symphony No. 3, Op. 42* (Cleveland, Ohio: Telarc, 2003), sound recording.

²⁸¹ Tarasti, *Myth and Music : A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, Especially That of Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky*, p. 91.

Ex. 5.2 Beethoven Prometheus Theme



Beethoven used this melody four times in all - for No. 7 of 12 *Kontretänze* WoO 14, *The Creatures of Prometheus* ballet Op. 43, *Eroica* Variations Op. 35 and the finale of the *Eroica* symphony. It appears in the key of E flat each time. The opening first subject theme of the symphony appears to have a common origin with the *Prometheus* theme but this is in fact misleading. According to early sketches of the symphony, the first movement theme was derived from of the *Basso del Tema* which introduces the finale.²⁸² Even so the familial relationship between the themes is apparent. The Scherzo and Trio adds another heroic dimension to the symphony with a spectacular display for three horns in the Trio.

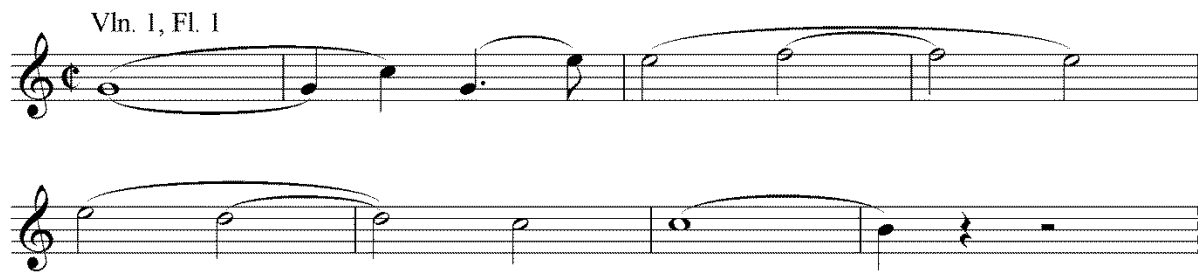
Ex. 5.3 Beethoven Symphony No. 3 *Eroica* III Trio

Allegro vivace
Hn. 1&2

The image shows a musical score for three horns (Hn. 1&2 and Hn. 3) in 3/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegro vivace'. The key signature has three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The first two horns (Hn. 1&2) play a melody starting with a half note B-flat4, followed by a dotted half note A-flat4, and then a series of eighth and quarter notes. The third horn (Hn. 3) plays a lower line, starting with a half note B-flat3, followed by a dotted half note A-flat3, and then a series of eighth and quarter notes. Both parts are marked with a forte (sf) dynamic. The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, ties, and accidentals.

²⁸² Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Earliest Sketches for the "Eroica" Symphony,' *The Musical Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1981): p. 468.

Ex. 5.4 Berlioz *Symphonie Fantastique* I letter I ‘idée fixe’



In 1830 Hector Berlioz composed a cyclic symphony where the theme of his beloved - the *idée fixe* as the composer termed it - is quoted in each movement achieving a thematic unity between fairly disparate movements. The first part of the theme (and the most identifiable part which is quoted in all subsequent movements) is triadic and is extended sequentially in romantic style with a rhythmic fluidity in the second part. Future allusions to the *idée fixe* are usually assigned to the woodwinds (particularly E flat clarinet in the fifth movement).

Liszt Faust Symphony

Franz Liszt's *Faust Symphony* (1857) develops the idea of the heroic motif still further. Faust is given a group of motifs which portray different sides of his character. The first one is based on four augmented triads which cycles through all twelve notes of the chromatic scale.

Ex. 5.5 Liszt *Faust Symphony* I opening



The motif also appears in pizzicato form at letter I which bears a striking similarity to the variant of Ilya's motif which appears at figure 42 in the first movement. Ex. 5.14 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya horse motif development

Ex. 5.14 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya horse motif development

42

Vlc. & Cb.
pizz.

poco agitato

3

3

Ex. 5.6 Liszt Faust Symphony I letter I²⁸³

26 I
Meno mosso, misterioso e molto tranquillo

Hob. *p dolciss.*

Klar. (C) *p dolciss.*

Fag. *p dolciss.*

Viol. *dolce* *mit Dämpfer* *1. Hälfte* *p dolce*

Br. *dolce* *mit Dämpfer* *1. Hälfte* *p dolce*

Voll. K.-B. *ten.* *p*

Fl. *p dolciss.*

Hob. *p un poco marc.*

Klar. (C) *p un poco marc.*

Fag. *p un poco marc.*

Hrn. (F) *mit Dämpfer* *Solo* *p*

Viol. 1. *get.* *pizz.* *mf marc.*

Viol. 2. *get.* *pizz.* *mf marc.*

Br. *get.* *pizz.* *mf marc.*

Voll. K.-B. *mf marc.*

E.E. 3647

²⁸³ Liszt, *Eine Faust-Symphonie* (London: Eulenberg, 1857), p. 26.

Perhaps it is Liszt of the New German School who influenced Glière the most which, given the Hungarian composer's links with the Kuchka, is no surprise.

Faust's heroic motif is diatonic - it is a combination of the tonic (beats 1 & 2) and the supertonic (beats 3 & 4) harmonised in first inversion. This is deceptive as the ear would expect the subdominant chord as the bass implies.

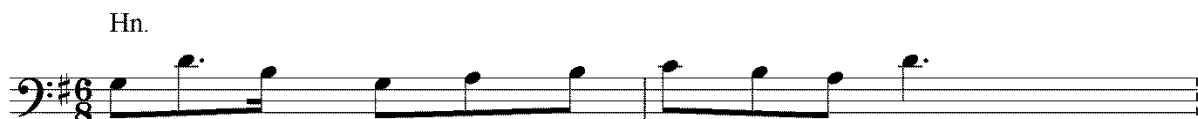
Ex. 5.6 Liszt *Faust* Symphony I letter O



Wagner

The operas and the music dramas of Wagner dealt with a succession of heroic figures from *Rienzi*, *Tannhauser*, *Lohengrin*, *Tristan*, *Parsifal* and but ultimately it is *Das Ring der Niblungen* that provides the greatest number and variety of leitmotifs. The major hero in *The Ring* Siegfried has clear major diatonic motifs (in contrast to Faust) associated with the horn.

Ex. 5.8 Wagner *Das Ring der Niblungen* Siegfried horn call



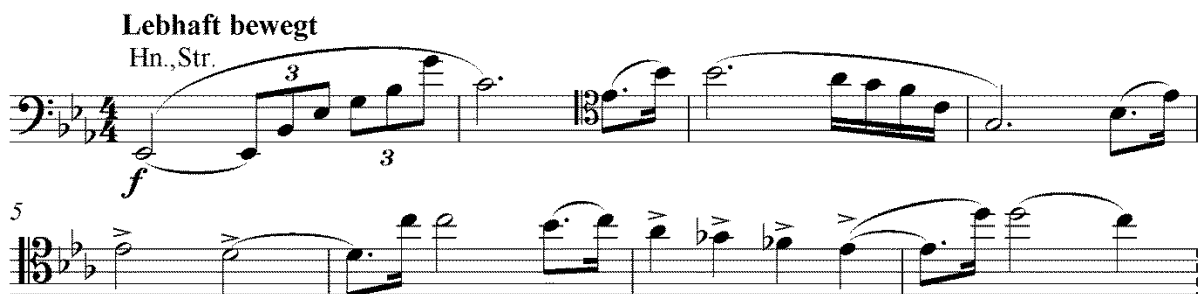
Ex. 5.9 Wagner *Das Ring der Niblungen* sword motif



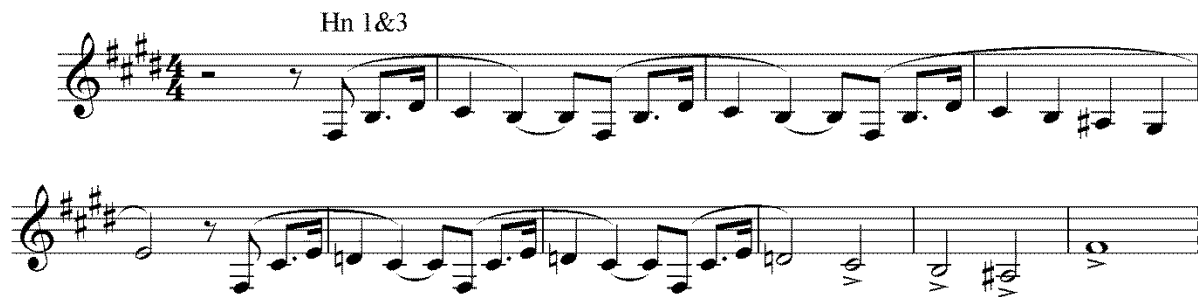
Richard Strauss *Ein Heldenleben*

The opening theme of Richard Strauss' *Ein Heldenleben* is in E flat - homage to Beethoven's *Eroica* but Strauss' opening statement is written over a huge span of 16 bars - it exhibits a wide array of rhythms and even ventures through the whole tone scale in bar 7. Instead of a group of motifs to describe the hero, Strauss combines all into one.

Ex. 5.10 Richard Strauss *Ein Heldenleben* hero motif



Ex. 5.11 Richard Strauss *Salome* fig. 66 Jochanan's motif



Amongst all of the chromatic horrors of *Salome*, Jochanan's motif stands out as portraying a noble, innocent hero who is eventually beheaded. This motif is also closely associated with the horn. If the motif was transposed into E minor, the first five notes would be identical to Ilya's heroic theme (Ex. 5.16).

Bartók *Kossuth* (1903)

Bartók's Straussian symphonic poem is particularly influenced by *Ein Heldenleben* but it displays a heroic motif that owes much to the florid *verbunkos* style. The motif is triadic but in the minor key including augmented seconds befitting the oriental Hungarian characteristics. Ilya's theme (ex. 5.16) is also based on the minor triad with a minor seventh added.

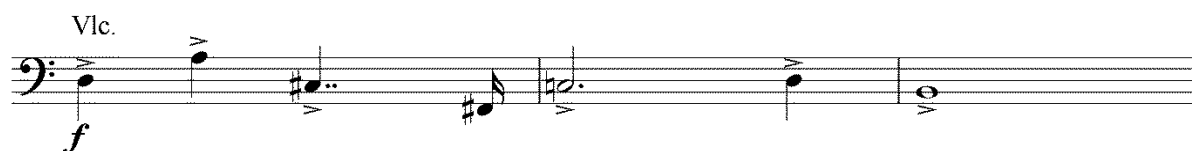
Ex. 5.12 Bartók *Kossuth* opening theme



Ilya's theme group

Ilya is assigned a group of themes: the first is the 'flying horse' motif which is subject to considerable development throughout the symphony. The motif uses wide spaced intervals implying the long strides of the horse and the double dotted rhythm displays the impetus of the movement. A variation is a pizzicato bass formed from the theme (ex. 5.16). The galop or battle motif is usually the second of the group to be sounded. It appears frequently in the last movement throughout Ilya's battles.

Ex. 5.13 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya flying horse motif



Ex. 5.14 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya horse motif development figure 42

42

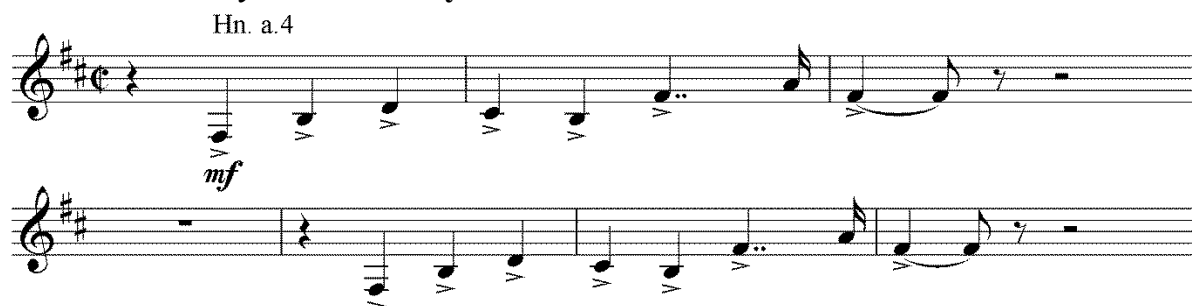
Vlc. & Cb.
pizz.

poco agitato

Ex. 5.15 Glière *Ilya Muromets* galop motif



Ex. 5.16 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya heroic motif



The heroic motif is formed gradually from fragments on horn and trombone as a counterpoint to the horse theme (ex. 5.13) until a consolidation at figure 24 when four unison horns state the motif twice. Ilya's main motif is based on a tonic (B minor) minor seventh chord unlike the Beethoven and Strauss examples. The key is B natural minor and the theme ends on the dominant which creates a certain expectation. It is nearly always assigned to the brass section (unison horns, trombones or trumpets).

Smetana *Má Vlast* – *Blaník, Sarka, Tabor*

Slavic myth became the source of the symphonic poem when Bedřich Smetana composed his epic cycle *Má Vlast* (1879). The last pieces in the cycle *Tábor* and *Blaník*, are based on the Hussite Chorale (ex. 5.11). The legends of *Blaník* and *Ilya Muromets* have some similarities although the Bohemian tale has a more optimistic conclusion. *Blaník*, a mountain in central Bohemia, is the resting place of knights who would rescue the country from danger. Smetana's version includes the defeated fighters of the Hussite Wars sounding the Hussite chorale: *Those who are God's Warriors* when the warriors arise. In contrast, Glière's chorale

formed from znamenny chant²⁸⁴ depicts Ilya Muromets and the bogatyr overwhelmed by heavenly forces and petrified to stone.

Ex. 5.17 Smetana *Tábor* bar 322 Hussite Chorale



Josef Suk also quoted this theme in *Praga* Op. 26 (composed at the same time as *Asrael*). Heroism was not such an important part of Antonin Dvořák's work with *Píseň Bohatýrská* [A Hero's Song], composed in 1897 being his least successful symphonic poem. Suk's *Asrael* is often terse with short motifs, looking towards modernism. Phrasing becomes more romantic when the composer evokes his earlier works such as *A Fairy Tale* Op. 16. The trio of the third movement - the scherzo - figure 30-38 is unashamedly romantic but in some ways the symphony as a whole is the antithesis of Glière's expansive *Ilya Muromets* symphony.

Ilya Muromets Znamenny Chant

The chant which is quoted in the prologue of the score does not appear in every movement. It represents a sense of timelessness with its metrical fluidity. In the first movement, at figure 7, it represents the pilgrims who release Ilya from his motionless state. In the finale when Ilya challenges the heavenly hosts, the chant appears in unison form at figure 71. As the battle commences the chant becomes more and more dominant till at figure 92 it is sounded in fully

²⁸⁴ A singing tradition used in the Russian Orthodox Church. Znamenny Chant is unison, melismatic singing that has its own specific notation called the *stolp* notation.

harmonised form. When the victory over Ilya and his forces is complete, the hymn sounds again triumphantly with celebratory bells and Ilya is turned to stone.

Ex. 5.18 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Znamenny Chant



Glière Ilya Muromets

In contrast to *Les Sirènes* which had a brief description of the events depicted in the symphonic poem, the programme of *Ilya Muromets* is highly detailed and the implication is that the action is reflected in the music to a high degree.

The exponential growth of Glière's orchestra can be seen in the table below. The forces required are almost identical with the Richard Strauss tone poem *Ein Heldenleben* although Strauss required a tenor tuba and an off stage brass section. For a heroic work of this era eight horns is almost standard. Bela Bartók's *Kossuth* Sz. 21 also uses eight horns and five trumpets like the Strauss.

Table 5.1 Orchestration Chart

| Work | Fl. | Ob. | C.A. | Cl. | B. Cl. | Fg. | C.Fg. | Hn. | Trp. | Hrp. |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----|-------|-----|------|------|
| No. 1 (1901) | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| No. 2 (1908) | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| <i>Les Sirènes</i> (1908) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| No. 3 <i>Ilya Muromets</i> (1912) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 2 |
| Richard Strauss <i>Ein Heldenleben</i> (1898) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 (3rd E flat clarinet) | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 2 |

First Movement

Mariya Leonova states that the movement is in sonata form²⁸⁵ but surely it is the programme that dictates the form. The attempt to use classical sonata form to analyse a piece with its multiplicity of themes and its great length is destined to failure. One can agree on the dimensions of the introduction from the opening to figure 15 and that the coda commences at figure 93. Leonova regards the first subject (Ilya's theme group) to be from 15 to 29 and the second subject (Svyatogor's theme) from 29 to 34. These are plausible because both subjects are in D major, but there is not the key contrast between them which is the basis of sonata form. Other problems arise with Leonova's description of Svyatogor's entombment and death from 77 to 93 as a reprise or recapitulation but Ilya's theme is not present in this section so it

²⁸⁵ Leonova, *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnokhastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*, p. 26.

is an incomplete recapitulation. There are aspects of sonata form in the movement but the programmatic events take precedence over formal considerations.

The scenario is long and complicated - subsequently writers of the liner notes to the many recordings of the symphony do not agree on what action Glière is portraying. Edward Johnson for Unicorn appears to be the most accurate with his synopsis.²⁸⁶ On the other hand Edward Yadzinski's account of 'glorious effects from the brass choir' to describe muted horns Svyatogor transferring his powers to Ilya seems far off the mark.²⁸⁷ The first movement is about the development and maturation of Ilya:

In olden times in the days of the gracious Prince Vladimir lived Ilya Muromets (Ilya of Murom), a peasant's son. For thirty lonely years he had remained seated and motionless. One day two wandering pilgrims appeared (gods of old were they) and cried to him: 'Arise! Go forth! Thou shalt a puissant Bogatyr become!' And Ilya Muromets arose and went forth into the limpid land. Procuring a bogatyr's steed he set out to find the noble hero, Svyatogor. The humid earth could scarcely bear the weight of Svyatogor. He was not allowed to go to Holy Russia, but he was permitted to roam over the lofty summits of the Sviaty Gory (holy mountains). Ilya approached him, saluting him with respect. They leapt astride two fleet steeds and rode a long time over the Holy Mountains, diverting themselves with heroic games. They discovered an immense coffin into which Svyatogor laid himself and from whose profound depths he could not be raised. Before he died he gave much sage counsel to Ilya. Then his body became covered with rivulets of sweat and he expired. The heroic force was transmitted to Ilya who traveled the straight road to the superb capital of Kyiv. His horse galloped as the falcon flies past lakes and streams while his tail swept away cities.²⁸⁸

In the introduction three themes are stated. Ilya's first theme is based on the B minor triad. The composer employs dominant substitutions throughout (for example in bar 7 a diminished chord G sharp/D/F sharp) and often tonic substitution as well, but the dominant chord of F

²⁸⁶ Edward Johnson in accompanying booklet p. 5. Reinhold Moritsevich Glière, Harold Farberman, and Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, *Symphony No.3, 'Ilya Muromets'*, ([London]: Unicorn, 1979).

²⁸⁷ Edward Yadzinski in accompanying booklet p. 2, Reinhold Glière, *Symphony No. 3 Ilya Muromets [Sound Recording]*, (Naxos, 2013).

²⁸⁸ Glière, *Ilya Muromets : Troisième Symphonie, (H-Moll), Pour Grande Orchestre, Op. 42*, vol 1 p. 3.

sharp major is never heard. This in addition to a continuous tonic pedal up to figure 5, is possibly Glière's harmonic method to portray the stasis of Ilya not moving for thirty years. The composer limits his timbres to lower pitched instruments until figure 3 and strings and horns are muted throughout.

Ex. 5.19 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya opening theme

Andante sostenuto
Vlc., Cb.

& Vln. II

& Vla.

The awakening (Leonova terms it дремлющие силы Ильи [Ilya's dormant powers]) brings a change of harmony - the horn theme is accompanied by a first inversion C major chord -the Neapolitan sixth (flattened second) of B minor. On repetition at figure 6 a minor seventh is added to the harmony creating an ambivalence which leads to the pilgrim's chant at figure 7.

Ex. 5.20 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya awakening

$\text{♩} = 52$ Hn. 1

Cb., Vlc., Vla. *p*

The motif of the pilgrims is in A minor. Glière carefully chooses the combination of low cor anglais blended with a bass clarinet in mid register. This creates a unique and sombre timbre. The chant is accompanied with horn and bass pedals on the dominant - E. The theme does not feature in the inner two movements but makes a cataclysmic appearance with full harmony in the final movement.

Ex. 5.21 Glière Ilya Muromets fig. 7 Znamenny Chant in context

Più mosso C.A., Bcl.

The musical score for Ex. 5.21, Glière Ilya Muromets fig. 7 Znamenny Chant in context, is presented in two systems. The first system features a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, and a bass staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The second system features a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, and a bass staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

From figure 9 to 14 the awakening motif is developed leading to a chromatic descent down to the allegro section where another significant theme is introduced. Ilya has acquired a flying horse and this motif is stated in cellos and basses with the awakening motif in the winds. The angularity of this theme with its wide leaps symbolises the rapid movement of the horse.

Ex. 5.22 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya horse theme and awakening

15 Allegro risoluto

Ob., Cl., Hn.

Vlc., Cb.

f

This section depicts Ilya searching for full maturity - there is a close parallel between Wagner's *Die Walküre* Act 1, Scene 3 Siegmund discovers his identity as a Wälsung and extricates the sword Nothung from the oak tree in which it is lodged. Before the climax of the act, the sword motif is referred to constantly in the orchestra, sometimes in the minor, on different solo instruments - oboe, bass trumpet, clarinet but ultimately it is the theme's statement on three unison trumpets that accompanies Siegmund possessing the sword.

Ex. 5.9 Wagner *Das Ring der Niblungen* sword motif

Trp. a.3

ff

Ex. 5.23 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 22 Ilya heroic theme beginnings

Hn., Trb.

Cb., Tb.

mf

8vb

The first sign of Ilya's heroic status is stated in the lowest possible register on tuba and double basses in embryonic form before gradually ascending to a more definitive statement on horns which will remain the mature Ilya's heroic motif. The other component of the Ilya theme group is a dotted galloping rhythm as in ex. 5.15.

Ex. 5.24 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 24 Ilya motifs

Allegro risoluto

Ob., Cl.

mf

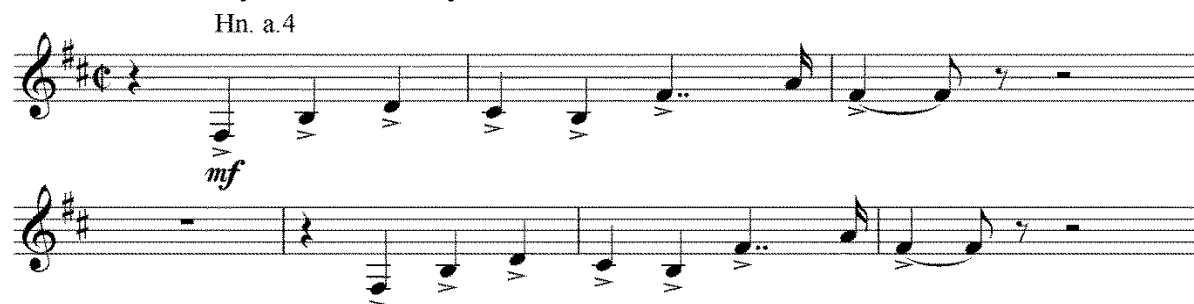
Vlc., Cb., Bcl., Fg.

f

Hn.

mf

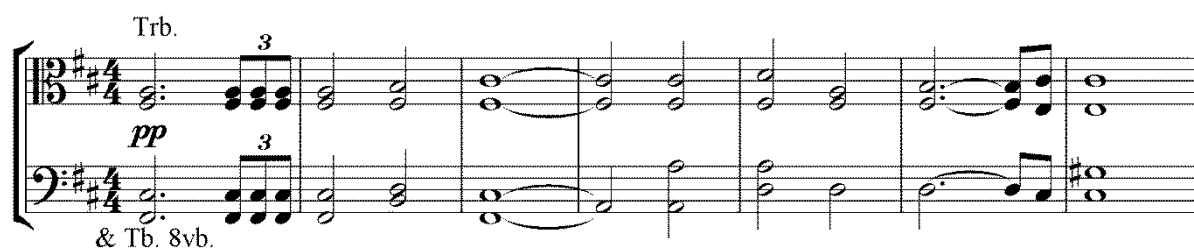
Ex. 5.25 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya heroic motif



The mature Ilya searches for Svyatogor and finds him at figure 29. Svyatogor's theme is a solemn trombone and tuba chorale. It is set in F sharp minor but in bar 3 there is no third in the chord. In bar 7 the ear expects an E sharp which again consists of bare fifths. It is significant that this theme is uniquely given to the heavy brass whereas the horn section is reserved for Ilya's theme. Hence the composer differentiates his heroes with timbral contrasts reflecting the age of the warriors and the weight of Svyatogor. The young Ilya is portrayed on horns and the older, heavier Svyatogor with trumpets, trombones and tuba.

Ex. 5.26 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 29 Svyatogor's theme

Tranquillo misterioso



To depict the games between Ilya and Svyatogor at figure 42, Glière transforms his material in a remarkable way. The horse theme is transformed into a pizzicato initially on cellos and basses set against triplet figures in the upper strings.

Ex. 5.27 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 42 Ilya's theme pizzicato

Poco agitato

42 $\text{♩} = 112$
Vln., Vla

Vlc. & Cb.
pizz.

Some of Glière's very best orchestral writing appears in this section - the sound world evoked is unique to this composer. There is a transparency through which each polyphonic strand can be heard with clarity - a testament to Glière's orchestral and contrapuntal skills.

Ex. 5.28 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya's theme pizzicato and Svyatogor

Poco agitato

Trb., Tb.

Vln., Vla., Cl.

Vlc. & Cb.
pizz.

arco

At Fig. 59 Ilya's theme is rhythmically augmented and set against triplets in the bass. According to one version of the legend Ilya attacks Svyatogor, who is asleep but this is not supported by Glière's text which states: 'Ilya approached him (Svyatogor), saluting him with respect.

Ex. 5.29 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 59 Ilya's theme rhythmically augmented

Poco piu mosso

Vln.

The musical score is written for Violin (Vln.) and Viola (Vlc.) in common time (C). The tempo is marked "Poco piu mosso". The Violin part begins with a dynamic of *p* and the instruction *espress molto*. The Viola part begins with a dynamic of *p*. The score consists of five systems of music. The first system shows the initial entry of the theme, with the Violin playing a melody of eighth notes and the Viola playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system continues the theme, with the Violin playing a melody of eighth notes and the Viola playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The third system continues the theme, with the Violin playing a melody of eighth notes and the Viola playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The fourth system continues the theme, with the Violin playing a melody of eighth notes and the Viola playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The fifth system continues the theme, with the Violin playing a melody of eighth notes and the Viola playing a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of common time (C). The Violin part is written on a single staff, and the Viola part is written on a single staff. The score is written in a standard musical notation style, with notes, rests, and dynamic markings clearly visible.

At figure 84 Svyatogor gets into a tomb from which he will not rise. As Svyatogor lies in his tomb he breathes through a crack and transfers all of his powers to Ilya. The chromatic melodic lines in flutes and clarinets are symbolising magic in the same way that Wagner portrays the magic of Klingsor summoning Kundry in *Parsifal* Act 2 figure 133.

Ex. 5.30 Glière *Ilya Muromets* fig. 87 transference of Svyatogor's powers to Ilya

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes staves for Flute I (Fl. I), Flute II (Fl. II), Flute III (Fl. III), Clarinet I (Cl. I), Clarinet II (Cl. II), Bassoon I (B. I), Bassoon II (B. II), and Trombone I (Tr. I). The second system includes staves for Trombone II (Tr. II), Trombone III (Tr. III), Trombone IV (Tr. IV), Trombone V (Tr. V), Trombone VI (Tr. VI), and Trombone VII (Tr. VII). The third system includes staves for Trombone VIII (Tr. VIII), Trombone IX (Tr. IX), Trombone X (Tr. X), Trombone XI (Tr. XI), Trombone XII (Tr. XII), and Trombone XIII (Tr. XIII). The score features various dynamic markings such as *pp*, *ppp*, and *con sord.* (con sordano). The tempo is marked as a 2/4 time signature with a tempo of 80.

87 $\text{♩} = 80.$

86335

Ex. 5.31 Glière *Ilya Muromets* death of Svyatogor

Tranquillo e misterioso.
 92 *Timp.* $\text{♩} = 72.$ *pp* *riten. molto* *ppp*

Gr. Cassa. *ppp* *p* *ppp* *p* *ppp* *p* *dim.* *ppp*

Tam-tam. *pp* *pp* *ppp* *p* *ppp*

36935

Tranquillo e misterioso.
 92 $\text{♩} = 72.$ *riten. molto*

In an innovative manipulation of timbre, Svyatogor's theme is reduced by the composer into a funeral march for percussion only at the softest possible dynamic levels. Timpani outline the interval of a diminished fifth accompanied by bass drum rolls and tam tam strokes and rolls. The epilogue is built on Ilya's themes and at figure 106 he possesses full magic powers with a full, eight horn unison of Ilya's heroic theme.

Ex. 5.32 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya attains full powers

Hn. a8.
f marcato

Second Movement

In a dense forest seven oaks sheltered Solovei the Brigand. The right road is slippery, the left is barred. Whistling like a nightingale, sending forth ferocious cries, Solovei the Brigand bows to earth the dense forest and all the men, if any there be in the forests, lie dead. Cherished by Solovei, three maidens live in the forest. They own piles of gold, heaps of silver and of beautifully rounded pearls. With precious gifts they entice passers-by. Solovei hears the powerful gait of the bogatyr. He whistles, this brigand-like the nightingale, he sends forth ferocious cries. Ilya bends his giant bow and shoots an arrow of glowing iron. The arrow pierces the right eye of Solovei the Brigand; it stretches him out on the humid earth. Ilya ties the brigand to his damasked stirrup and drags him toward the palace of Vladimir, the Great Sun.²⁸⁹

The second movement inhabits the same sound world as *Les Sirènes* but Glière now has a broader canvas which he uses to portray the forest of Bryansk and its sinister occupants in every detail. As the most Scriabinesque movement in the symphony with its bird calls and dissonant chromatic harmony, Leonid Sabaneyev was probably alluding to this part of the work when he wrote: ‘His symphonies have been written in various styles: ...the third, *Ilya Muromets*, is rather an imitation of Scriabin’s Third Symphony, *The Divine Poem*.’²⁹⁰

Leonova asserts that the movement is in sonata form.²⁹¹ However it is a modified type of sonata form as her development section is extraordinarily long for conventional sonata form.

Main Part: figures 1 to 15

First subject: figures 1 to 4

Transition: 4 to 5

²⁸⁹ *Ilya Muromets : Troisième Symphonie, (H-Moll), Pour Grande Orchestre, Op. 42, p. 2.*

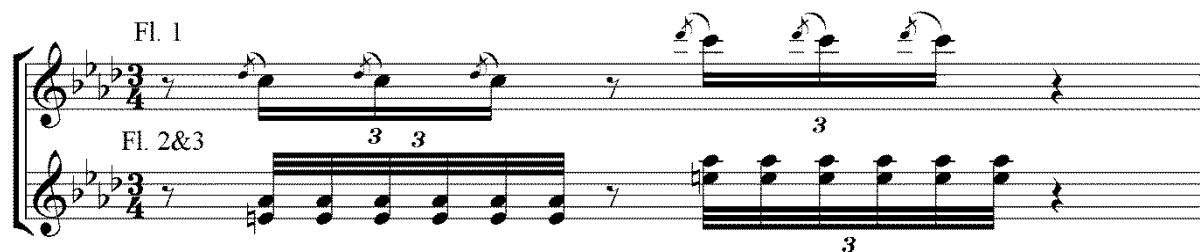
²⁹⁰ Leonid Leonidovich Sabaneev, *Modern Russian Composers* (London: Lawrence, 1927), 220.

²⁹¹ Leonova, *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnochastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*, p. 29.

Recapitulation: 58 to end

The scurrying sul ponticello strings in semitones may appear somewhat clichéd after decades of film music using the same device but they effectively convey the foreboding atmosphere and the rustling leaves of the forest.

Ex. 5.34 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 1 birdsong



The birdsong is harsh and foreboding (augmented fifth triads - E/A flat/C) and warns of the bandit Solovei lurking in the forest. The evil Solovei is portrayed by a theme characterised by awkward leaps and chromatic runs given to the contrabassoon.²⁹² The combination of leaps and chromaticism portrays the evil nature of Solovei.

Ex. 5.34 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 1 Solovei

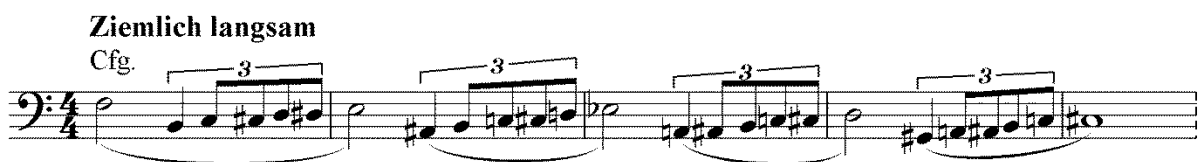


²⁹² It is noticeable that in some recordings, bassoonists have difficulty with executing the part as written - particularly the articulation.

Ex. 5.35 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 2 Solovei



Ex. 5.36 Richard Strauss *Also Sprach Zarathustra* ‘Disgust motif’



There is a similarity between Solovei’s motif and the ‘disgust’ motif²⁹³ nine bars before figure 18 in Richard Strauss’ *Also Sprach Zarathustra*. The characterisation of the contrabassoon to convey evil (Glière) or disgust (in Strauss’ case) is apt.

²⁹³ Identified by James Hepokoski in Charles Youmans, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss*, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 98.

Ex. 5.37 Ilya Muromets II fig. 2

128

2 Pico.

2

BOOK

At figure 2 the three themes are combined.

There have been comparisons made, particularly by David Nice, between the birdsong in Scriabin's *The Divine Poem* and Glière's use of birdsong in this movement.²⁹⁴

Ex. 5.38 Scriabin *The Divine Poem* I p. 110 birdsong

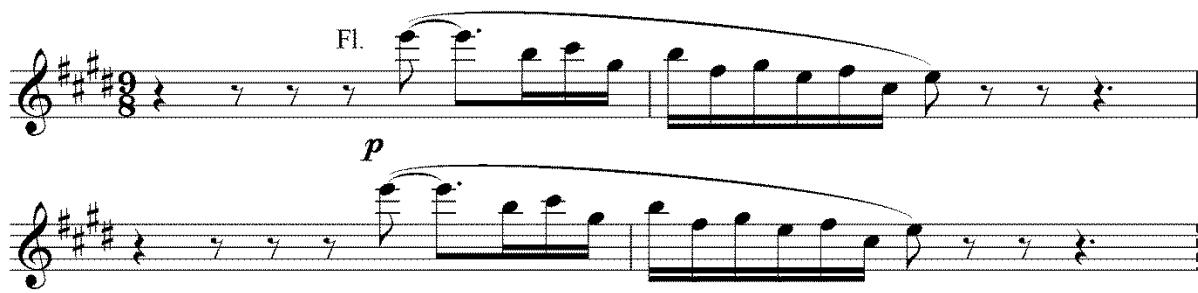
Allegro

Ex. 5.38 Scriabin *The Divine Poem* II p. 139 birdsong

Lento

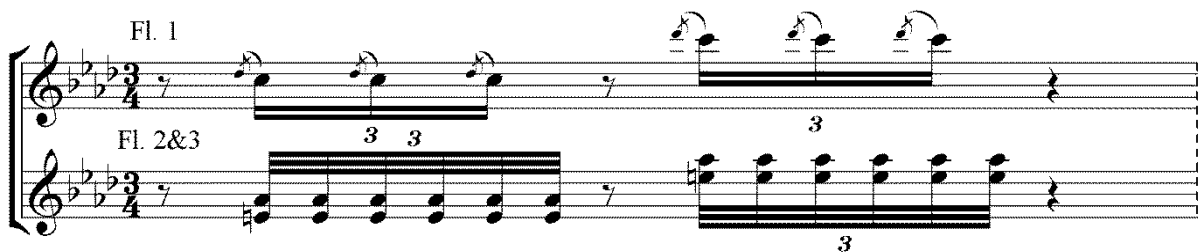
²⁹⁴ David Nice in accompanying booklet p. 6, Reinhold Moritsevich Glière, Edward Downes, and BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, *Symphony No. 3, Op. 42 in B Minor Ilya Muromets*, (Colchester, Essex, England: Chandos, 1991), sound recording.

Ex. 5.39 Wagner *Siegfried* Act II Scene II



Descending from Wagner's forest scene in *Siegfried*, Scriabin's birdsong in *The Divine Poem* is largely based on minor chords. In contrast to Scriabin's birdsong, Glière's birds sing in augmented triads over the contrabassoon motif of Solovei (ex. 5.37). Glière's augmented chord birdsong is repeated without variation until the appearance of the hero Ilya at figure 14. At figure 28 Glière's birdsong is closer to the Scriabin examples from *The Divine Poem* (see example 5.49)

Ex. 5.40 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 1 birdsong



Ex. 5.41 Solovei's maidens full orchestral score

This musical score is for a full orchestra, with a focus on woodwinds and strings. The score is written in a key with two flats (B-flat major or D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The instruments and parts include:

- Woodwinds:** Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in G (Cing.), Bassoon (Fag.), and Contrabassoon (C. B.).
- Strings:** Violins (V.), Violas (V.), Cellos (V-cello), and Double Basses (C. B.).
- Solo Instruments:** Violoncello (V-cello SOLO) and Violins (V. Celli altri div. a 2).

The score is divided into three main sections, marked with Roman numerals I, II, and III. The tempo and mood are indicated by the marking *p con dolore* (piano, with pain). The score includes various dynamic markings such as *dim.* (diminuendo), *pp* (pianissimo), *p* (piano), and *mf* (mezzo-forte). The score is written for a full orchestra, with a focus on woodwinds and strings. The score is divided into three main sections, marked with Roman numerals I, II, and III. The tempo and mood are indicated by the marking *p con dolore* (piano, with pain). The score includes various dynamic markings such as *dim.* (diminuendo), *pp* (pianissimo), *p* (piano), and *mf* (mezzo-forte). The score is written for a full orchestra, with a focus on woodwinds and strings.

Ex. 5.42 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 5 Solovei's maidens

Andante

Vla., C.A. Vla., Ob.

To portray the maidens, Glière has a highly chromatic melody on solo viola and cello over augmented triads B flat/D/G flat over an E flat pedal (bars 1-5). In bar 6 the harmony changes to A flat minor triads often sounded with a major seventh (A flat/C flat/E flat/G) creating an augmented triad in the top three notes of the chord. The use of these chords leads to a partial suspension of tonality. The complex dissonances formed by the chromatic appoggiaturas (which is what they are) over augmented chords creates one of the most discordant passages to be found in Glière.

Solovei's whistle is a combination of two high-pitched (two piccolos) undulating augmented triads based on E/A flat/C and B flat/D/ F sharp exactly a tritone apart. This is a high level of dissonance. Two bars after figure 18 the harmony changes to a single augmented chord F/A/D flat. When the sequence is repeated in the third movement, there is just the B flat chord present perhaps signifying that the powers of Solovei were diminished after his capture.

Ex. 5.43 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 13 Solovei's whistle

142

13

13

36335

Ex. 5.44 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 18 entrance of Ilya



At figure 19 Glière uses a suitably Tristanesque passage to modulate to F major and introduces the languorous melody that Solevei's maidens employ against Ilya. It is based on appoggiaturas over an E flat dominant 7th ninth chord which cycles down in contrary motion to the ascending chromatic line, a minor thirds to C7 then A7 and concluding on a G flat French sixth chord - G flat/B flat/C/E.

Ex. 5.45 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 19 harmonic outline

In Ex. 5.46 the full score reveals the Tristanesque nature of the passage with divided cellos and harp

Ex. 5.46 Ilya Muromets II three bars before figure 20

36335

Ex. 5.46 again displays Glière's use of French sixth chords based on G flat for the modulation into F and the melody of the maidens. At figure 20 with the arrival of Ilya, Solovei's maidens attempt to entice him with a sweeping melody accompanied by rapturous birdsong and harps representing Ilya's Parsifal-like test. The melody is reminiscent of a similar passage in *Les Sirènes*. Its character is formed by the leaps of a fifth, a minor sixth followed by another fifth which reflects the motif of Solovei. The chromatic harmony is a reflection of what is being described in the scenario. David Nice described the scene thus:

... the ladies set to work in a long voluptuous Andante which outsings even the slow movement of Scriabin's *Divine Poem* in its proliferation of birdsong and builds to an ecstasy redoubling the horn-laden peak of the *Tristan* prelude.²⁹⁵

Seductive whiles are shown in the enveloping movement of the melody with coyness – three bars in. Chromatic movement shows sexuality – closeness with another. See the legato articulation and syncopated construction; all designed to effect seductive powers. Intertwining parts show seductive prowess.

Ex. 5.47 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 20 Solovei's maidens seduction motif

²⁹⁵ David Nice in accompanying booklet p. 6, *Symphony No. 3, Op. 42 in B Minor Ilya Muromets*.

Andante Vla. **20**

pp Vlc.

Vlc.

This system contains measures 20 and 21. Measure 20 begins with a Viola (Vla.) part marked *pp* (pianissimo) and a Violoncello (Vlc.) part. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes with some slurs. Measure 21 continues the melodic lines for both instruments.

21

This system contains measure 21. The Viola (Vla.) part continues with a melodic line, and the Violoncello (Vlc.) part provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The notation includes various note values and rests.

22 Cl.

Vln. *mf*

This system contains measures 22 and 23. Measure 22 introduces a Clarinet (Cl.) part. The Violin (Vln.) part is marked *mf* (mezzo-forte). The Violoncello (Vlc.) part continues. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes with some slurs. Measure 23 continues the melodic lines for the Clarinet and Violin.

This system contains measures 24 and 25. The Violin (Vln.) part continues with a melodic line, and the Violoncello (Vlc.) part provides harmonic support. The notation includes various note values and rests.

Ex. 5.48 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II figure 25 antiphonal harp writing

167

36335

This passage is remarkable for Glière's use of two harps to alternate passages glissandi and arpeggio in almost antiphonal style. Tchaikovsky uses this effect at the beginning of Act II (Scene No. 10 letter B) of *The Nutcracker*. The same scene also features the orchestral debut of the celesta at letter C.²⁹⁶ Following the lead of Tchaikovsky Glière achieves transparency even in heavily scored passages. The harps are doubled by flutes. At figure 28 the birdsong becomes more impressionistic bearing a remarkable resemblance to 'Lever du Jour' in Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe* Scene III and the upper strings portray the rustling leaves of the forest. In the meantime the maidens' long languorous melody continues.

²⁹⁶ Richard Bonynges's Decca *Nutcracker* recording places the harps apart emphasising Tchaikovsky's antiphonal writing.

Ex. 5.49 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 28 birdsong

172

[illegible]

36335

Ex. 5.50 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II figure 32 transition

Tranquillo molto

The musical score is written for two systems. The first system contains staves for Viola and Clarinet (Vla., Cl.) and Violoncello (Vlc.). The second system contains staves for Violin (Vln.) and Oboe and Clarinet (Ob., Cl.). The tempo is marked 'Tranquillo molto'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The score features prominent triplet patterns in the woodwind parts and a sustained, dissonant harmonic texture in the string parts, particularly in the lower register.

At figure 32 the harmony becomes more dissonant with an augmented sixth- like chord G sharp/B sharp/F sharp/A sharp increasing the element of desire in the music The motif on viola and clarinet, the harmony and the imitative writing here are very close to Scriabin.

The chord then moves up a minor third to B/D sharp/A/C sharp underpinning the rapturous violin solos.

Despite these temptations Ilya manages to travel through the forest unharmed by Solovei or his maidens and shoots the bandit in the eye capturing him as a trophy for Prince Vladimir in Kyiv. At figure 61 there is a combination of motifs - Solovei's whistle, the forest and the maidens. The jagged major sevenths on the bass instruments describe Solovei's agony. Ilya manages to totally subdue the fiend at figure 74 and a coda describes a departing hero disappearing into the distance with Solovei. The movement is almost cinematic in its detailed descriptions of the scenario.

Ex. 5.51 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II figure 61 Solovei shot by arrow

[illegible]

Third Movement

Vladimir is holding a noble feast, to which have gathered in numbers the princes, the boyars, and the bogatyrs of invincible strength. Arriving at the principal gate of the palace, Ilya commands the brigand to send forth his nightingale call and his ferocious cries. Then trembles the roof of the palace, then fall all the great bogatyrs the princes so proud, the famous boyars. All fall. Prince Vladimir, alone though enfeebled stands. Ilya slices off the head of the turbulent Solovei. Vladimir, in recompense gives Ilya the place of honour at the table and all the puissant bogatyrs acknowledge him their distinguished brother.

This is the shortest movement and is a bright and colourful dance movement. The only shadow cast is the brief appearance of Solovei (ex. 5.34) at figure 27. Many writers have remarked on the influence of Borodin on the movement but few if any have specified what part of Borodin's oeuvre they mean. It is certainly not the scherzi in the symphonies. There is a vague resemblance in the second half of ex. 5.52 to a descending scalar passage from the overture to *Prince Igor* but on the whole the likeness to Borodin is over-stated. Unlike the other movements this one is in sonata form (as Leonova suggests) but without a conventional development.²⁹⁷ Instead there is a recapitulation of Ilya's heroic theme (ex. 5.16) and Solovei (ex. 5.34). **(Ex. 5.34 Glière *Ilya Muromets* II fig. 1 Solovei)**

²⁹⁷ Leonova, *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnocastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*, p. 33.

Ex. 5.52 Glière *Ilya Muromets* III fig. 1 first subject

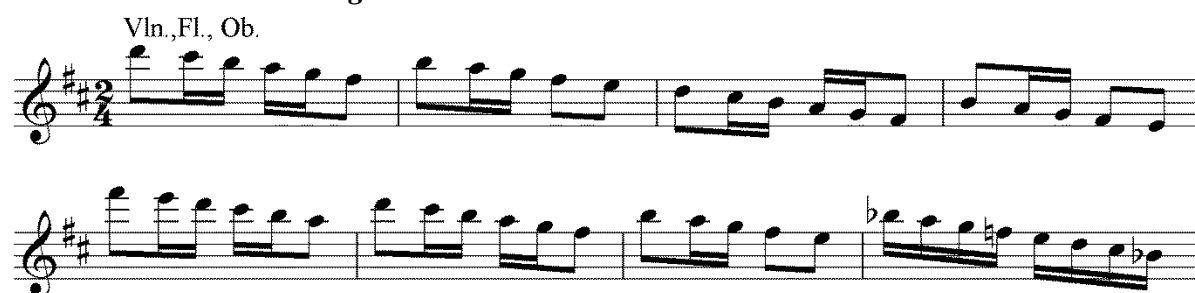
Fl. 1, Cel. 8va Pic., Cel. 8va Fl. 1, Cel. 8va Vln.

Ex. 5.54 Glière *Ilya Muromets* III fig. 4 harmonic outline

A F Db G Eb B F

The second subject does exhibit some of the characteristics of the New Russian School and it also provides a contrast to the first subject. Its key is D natural minor.

Ex. 5.53 Borodin *Prince Igor* overture



One of the movement's predominant characteristics is to leap abruptly to distant keys. An example of this process is the sequence at figure 4 which progresses in major thirds from A-F-Db a diminished fifth down to G, then further major thirds: G-Eb-B and another diminished fifth to F.

Ex. 5.55 Glière *Ilya Muromets* III fig. 9 second subject



At figure 17 the first subject is developed through a variety of keys demonstrating mediant progressions. The only exception is at figure 20 when after the mediant sequence is broken by a conventional progression from B flat to E flat, Ilya's heroic theme (ex. 5.16) is stated in E flat major. (Ex. 5.16 Glière *Ilya Muromets* Ilya heroic motif)

Table 5.2 Mediant progressions figures 17-23

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|----|---|---|----|---|
| Ab | E | Db | Bb | Eb | G | E | Ab | C |
|----|---|----|----|----|---|---|----|---|

At figure 26 Ilya's heroic theme is stated in C major. This is interrupted by an augmented fifth chord on F sharp denoting the malevolent presence of Solovei.

At Figure 27 Solovei begins to whistle but the results are so catastrophic (as previously mentioned Glière denotes the whistle with one augmented chord rather than the two heard in Bryansk) that Ilya is forced to silence the bandit.

Table 5.3

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------|
| Figure 28 | Solovei decapitated |
| Figure 30 | Transitional passage |
| Figure 33 | First subject recapitulation A major |
| Figure 36 | second subject B minor |
| Figure 39 | Second subject F sharp minor |
| Figure 44 | Coda based on first and second subjects |

The instrumental virtuosity (first strings and then woodwind) required in figures 36-42 is a direct reminder of passages from fifteen bars before figure 15 to 16 in the Berlioz overture *Rob Roy* (1831). As there are some connections with a related Berlioz work *Harold in Italy* (1834), particularly the finale: ‘Orgie de brigands. Souvenirs des Scènes Précédentes’ and the *Ilya Muromets* finale perhaps this was no coincidence.

In terms of the larger scenario, the third movement performs the role of an interlude before the onslaught of the finale. In symphonic terms it is integral as it does include the themes of Ilya and Solovei. Glière takes the opportunity to showcase his skills as a melodist but also to demonstrate his harmonic ingenuity. These skills are very much in evidence in the successful ballets - *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman*.

Fourth Movement

Batygha the Wicked and his pagan army arose in Orda the land of gold. The smoky breath of their horses obscured the gleam of the sun, and from them arose the Tatar odor that suffocated every Christian. Ilya Muromets advanced at the head of his twelve bogatyrs. For

twelve days they battled, defying the entire army of miscreants. Those are not two mountains that meet. They are in the limpid land and two bogatyrs draw near, Ilya and Udalaya Polyenitsa (Giant Warrior). At the first shock, they exchange blows, but neither is wounded. Each seizes by the mane the mount of the other, but without advantage. They dismount and grip each other vigorously. They struggle and strain until evening, and from evening to midnight, and from midnight to dawn. Ilya falls on to the humid earth and by this contact his strength is doubled. He strikes the white breast of the warrior with a blow so formidable that it sends her above the great trees of the forest. Soon he puts out her shining eyes, detaches the rebel head from its shoulders, fixes it on a Tatar lance and carries it back in acclamation to the camp of his heroic friends.

Seven bogatyrs advance with Ilya Muromets in the limpid land. Where is the Heavenly Army that we the bogatyrs have annihilated? They had scarcely pronounced the mad words when there sprang out two warriors who shouted 'Come then, bogatyrs, measure your strength with ours.' One bogatyr stood forth. Suddenly the two warriors became four. Ilya sabered them - and they were eight - unhurt. All the bogatyrs threw themselves upon the Heavenly Host charging and sabering; but they multiplied again and again, and charged upon the Bogatyrs. The bogatyrs fled the rocky mountains toward the somber caverns. One flees - he is changed into stone. Another and he, too, is petrified. Ilya Muromets runs toward the mountains and even he is suddenly changed into stone. And since that day the bogatyrs have disappeared from Russia.

Leonova describes the finale as being in free rhapsodic form and this seems accurate enough.²⁹⁸ The movement includes so much material from previous movements that it is better seen as an organic whole rather than a separate entity on its own. Orientalism appears for the first time in the symphony to portray the invasion of the Tatars. The ostinato figure with prominent diminished fifth and augmented second intervals and muted brass implies a barbarity similar to Stravinsky's Kashchei in *The Firebird* and which developed from Rimsky-Korsakov's *Mlada* (1890) and *The Golden Cockerel* (1907).

²⁹⁸ *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnokhastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*, p. 35.

In many ways the fourth movement of *Ilya Muromets* is Glière's *Götterdämmerung* where the pervading atmosphere is one of darkness with occasional bursts of light appearing from the victory celebrations over various enemies.

Ex. 5.56 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV bars 9-11

Allegro tumultuoso

Timp.
tr
ppp

Vla, Hn. con sordino
ppp

Cb.
ppp

The forces of Ilya and the Tatars do battle portrayed by feverish chromaticism reminiscent of the similarly frenetic sections in Tchaikovsky's *Francesca da Rimini* (bars 99-138 for example). From figure 10 Glière sets out the exposition of a four part fugue depicting the battle. The composer's contrapuntal technique is more assured than comparable passages in the Second Symphony. Ilya joins the battle at figure 18 when Ilya's galop motif (ex.5.15) sounds against the Tatar motif. This is followed by the flying horse theme (ex. 5.13) at figure 20. The contrapuntal battle continues until a triumphant victory fanfare based on Ilya's heroic motif (ex. 5.16) is heard. There is a brief respite until the next battle.

Ex. 5.57 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 10 Tatar Invasion

Allegro furioso

Vlc., Fg.



The Tatar warrior is portrayed in broad melodic style - not as menacing as one might expect although the triplet rhythms in the bass create an unsettling effect. It serves well as a contrast to Ilya's motif and rhythm in the bass and is of a similar legato nature. There is perhaps a pentatonic feel to the melody but this would be speculative rather than definitive. There is disagreement whether the theme represents the warrior or a victory celebration. Leonova clearly identifies the motif as Polyenitsa Udalaya²⁹⁹ whereas David Nice for Chandos believes otherwise: 'A new and noble melody announces that victory is close for the bogatyr'³⁰⁰ and Anthony Burton for Telarc says; 'Eventually a glowing new melody proclaims victory ...'³⁰¹ Leonova's opinion is more credible as at figure 52 Ilya's battle motif is heard engaging the enemy and at figure 53 Ilya's heroic theme is combined with that of the giant female bogatyr as if they are locked in battle.

²⁹⁹ *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnocastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*, p. 35.

³⁰⁰ David Nice in accompanying booklet p. 6 in Glière, Downes, and BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, *Symphony No. 3, Op. 42 in B Minor Ilya Muromets*.

³⁰¹ Anthony Burton in accompanying booklet p. 6 in Glière, *Ilya Muromets Symphony No. 3, Op. 42*

Ex. 5.58 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 48 Polyenitsa Udalaya
Tranquillo

Vla., Hn.

Vlc., Cb.

345

[illegible]

At figure 67 Ilya challenges the heavenly hosts. The horns are marked *con fiarezza* [with boldness]. A development based on the three note figure from Ilya's awakening in the original key of C major (ex. 5.20) follows.

Ex. 5.60 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 68 Ilya's taunt

Meno mosso
Hn. a.6.

con fiarezza

At figure 71 the heavenly hosts take up the battle challenge with a recapitulation of the pilgrim's chant which has not been heard since the first movement. From figure 75 to 91 the battle commences and the chant, in full harmony, attempts to establish itself against Ilya's dotted rhythm. At figure 92, as the heavenly hosts overcome Ilya and his forces, the pilgrims' chant is harmonised in full harmony in Orthodox Church fashion. This setting of the chant recalls the splendours of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Russian Easter Festival* overture and *The Invisible City of Kitezh*

Ex. 5.61 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 69 pilgrim chant full harmonisation

Allegro tumultuoso

Trp., Hn.
Trb. *f*

From figure 98 Ilya's motif starts to become progressively more and more distorted until figure 101 where high clarinets (relatively unusual in Glière) and violins echoed by low brass suggest that finally under the weight of the heavenly warriors, the hero's morale is crumbling and defeat is imminent. Essentially the motif representing Ilya is a combination of Ilya's original theme and the dotted rhythm of the battle motif

Ex. 5.62 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 101

390
101 Pico. I.

The musical score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Piccolo I, Flutes I and II, Oboes I and II, Clarinets I and II, Bassoons I and II, Trumpets I and II, Trombones I and II, Tuba, Euphonium, Timpans, Cymbals, and Strings. The score is in 2/4 time and features a variety of musical notations including dynamics, articulation, and performance instructions.

Key markings and instructions include:

- Pico. I.** (Piccolo I)
- I.** (First Flute)
- II.** (Second Flute)
- III. a 2.** (Third Flute, second part)
- Y. VI.** (Violoncello VI)
- VII. VIII.** (Violoncello VII and VIII)
- a 2.** (Second part of a section)
- un.** (unison)
- div. a 3.** (divided into three parts)
- non div.** (non-divided)
- Piatti.** (Piatto, cymbal)
- cresc.** (crescendo)

The score is marked with a large '101' in the top left corner and a smaller '101' in the bottom left corner.

At figure 105 there is a final triumphant statement of the pilgrim chant on the brass with full percussion and glockenspiel conjuring up epic scenes from the operas of Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov. Against it is an ostinato based on the three note awakening motif (ex. 5.14) played by the strings.

At 110 Ilya becomes petrified with a triple forte explosion from the percussion - tam-tam to the fore - and strident brass. Harmonically Glière uses a succession of augmented fifth chords over a B pedal to portray the end of the hero.

Ex. 5.63 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 110 Ilya's petrification

109 *ri - te - nu - to* 110 *Poco meno mosso.* 403

Triang. *crescendo molto*

Piatti. *crescendo molto*

Gr. C.

Tam-tam.

Camp.

86335 *ri - te - nu - to* 110 *Poco meno mosso.*

At figure 111 over a continually present bass pedal of timpani, cellos and basses, previous episodes of Ilya's life are recalled in the nature of the Beethoven's Ninth finale and subsequent works which used this device in their finales (Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* and Dvořák's Ninth Symphony for example). Svyatogor's motif appears towards the end of the procession. This passage anticipates Glière's prowess in his later works (*The Red Poppy*, Concerto for Coloratura and Orchestra, *The Bronze Horseman*) in conveying a sense of nostalgia unique to this composer.

Ex. 5.64 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV fig. 116 Ilya's funeral procession

412

116 $\text{♩} = 80.$

Picc. *ppp*

Fl. II, III *ppp*

Ob. III *ppp*

ppp

ppp

ppp

Fag. III *ppp*

C. F. *ppp*

ppp

pp

pp

pp

Con. aord.

Con. aord.

Celesta *pp*

A. I. *pp*

V. SOLO

Viol. I. *p*

Viol. II. *p* div. a 2

p

div. a 2

p

p

div. *p*

117

86325

116 $\text{♩} = 80.$

117

From figure 122 the opening sequence of the symphony is recapitulated (ex. 5.19) concluding with a solemn cadence. Although the coda does not possess the gloomy pessimism of Bartók's funeral march in *Kossuth*, Ilya's epilogue is appropriately sombre. The strings are silent apart from a low tonic pedal on cellos and basses and two pizzicato notes at the end.

Ex. 5.65 Glière *Ilya Muromets* IV concluding cadence

[illegible]

The finale composed as it was in 1912 just two years before the outbreak of World War 1 seems to absorb much of the angst of the time. Its apocalyptic vision of a Russia without heroes seems apt considering the assassination of Russian Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin occurred 18 September 1911 - six months before the premiere of *Ilya Muromets* in March 1912.

The Third Symphony was first performed on 23 March, 1912 in Moscow Conservatory Grand Hall in the Tenth Symphony concert of the RMS³⁰² under conductor Emil Cooper. Some Russian critics were surprised that the composer dared to take the heroic theme from Borodin but this was ill-founded criticism as there are far more influences from Liszt, Wagner and Richard Strauss than Borodin and it did not prevent the symphony achieving huge popularity in Russia. Other critics accused the composer of pessimism, which would have been a justified pessimism considering the turbulent times in the Russian Empire at the time. The doctrine of 'socialist realism' however did not allow negativity and Gulinskaya was still writing from this perspective when she said: 'But Glière was not a pessimist. He sincerely and deeply loved the Russian people and their culture.' She then quoted the composer's words: 'My love for the people was manifested in the fact that I began to study folk music. I used to think specifically in the Russian musical language and am sick, hurt terribly by the fact that by blood I am not Russian (although my mother was a Slav).'³⁰³ Whether Glière loved Russian culture or not was not the issue. Allowing *Ilya Muromets* to be overwhelmed by heavenly hosts was part of the grim realism which could also be seen in Bartók's *Kossuth* where the dashed hopes of an independent Hungary were accompanied by a

³⁰² Russian Musical Society

³⁰³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 73.

funeral march. In Soviet times Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake* ballet was often modified to create a happy ending which was symptomatic of socialist realism's aversion to tragedy.

In St. Petersburg the symphony was conducted by Hugo Varliha. In the United States, it was performed by Leopold Stokowski, Eugene Ormandy, Frederick Stock, and Dimitri Mitropoulos. Stokowski wrote to Glière: 'I think that with this symphony you have created a monument to the Slavic culture and music, which expresses the strength of the Russian people.' Commending the imagery of the symphony, its emotional impact, he also noted that this work is also 'a remarkable example of the architectonics of a large scale, like the silhouette of a huge mountain chain, which is observed at a distance. The symphony aroused interest among a wide audience.' In the Hollywood bowl the concert was attended by 22,000 spectators. The reaction of the audience at the end of the symphony was something quite exceptional. Stokowski played the symphony so often that he needed a replacement set of parts. In November 1943 he wrote to the composer, that new parts were impossible to obtain and requested help from Glière saying: 'I just got back from conducting your *Ilya Muromets* in San Francisco, and as always, for me, I was happy to listen and to conduct this epic music.' After receiving from the composer a set of parts, he thanked him, called the symphony 'unique' and also said: 'I often conduct it and soon again I am going to perform it in Texas.'³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Reinhold Moritseovich Glière pp. 73-74.

The Stokowski Cuts

Leopold Stokowski started to perform the *Ilya Muromets* symphony in 1933. Stokowski visited the Soviet Union in 1931 and met Glière there so presumably obtained the orchestral parts for the symphony as a result of the meeting. At the time the work was not permitted to be performed in the USSR.³⁰⁵ In 1943 Stokowski wrote to the composer for a new set of parts.³⁰⁶ Stokowski made large cuts to the score. Judging by the first Stokowski recording with the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1940, the score was cut to 45 minutes. According to Edward Johnson's programme notes Stokowski made these cuts in collaboration with the composer.³⁰⁷ It is difficult to find evidence for or against Glière's sanctioning of the cuts. The closest there is to evidence is a letter written by Glière to Stokowski on 22 September 1949 in which the composer said he was happy that the symphony was being conducted under Stokowski's leadership. Surely one can assume that Glière was aware of the cuts but he did not complain about them. The extent of the cuts can be seen in plate 5.2. Even the third movement which on average takes seven minutes is subject to cuts by Stokowski. The second movement would appear to have suffered the most as its descriptive passages are rendered to the stage of incoherency without half of its material. As described in the list Stokowski does not start the movement until one bar before figure 5. Although the flying horse theme is played at figure 15, Ilya's heroic development is severely curtailed as figures 17 to 20 and 22 to 26 are cut. The first statement of Svyatogor's theme is not played as figure 29 is cut. In general the Stokowski edition allows each theme to be heard once but not always in its

³⁰⁵ Mikkonen, *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy*, p. 58.

³⁰⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 73.

³⁰⁷ Edward Johnson in accompanying booklet p. 5. Glière, Farberman, and Orchestra, *Symphony No.3, 'Ilya Muromets'*.

original context. Also linking passages have been added by the conductor to allow smoother transitions.

It is far more difficult to justify any cuts in the modern digital era but perhaps Stokowski's edits can be justified in that he gave his audiences a taste of what *Ilya Muromets* had to offer without revealing its full potential. That was left to a younger generation of American conductors - Harold Farberman, Leon Botstein and JoAnn Falletta who had developed a fascination for the symphony.

Plate 5.1 Letter from Cleveland Orchestra to Stokowski

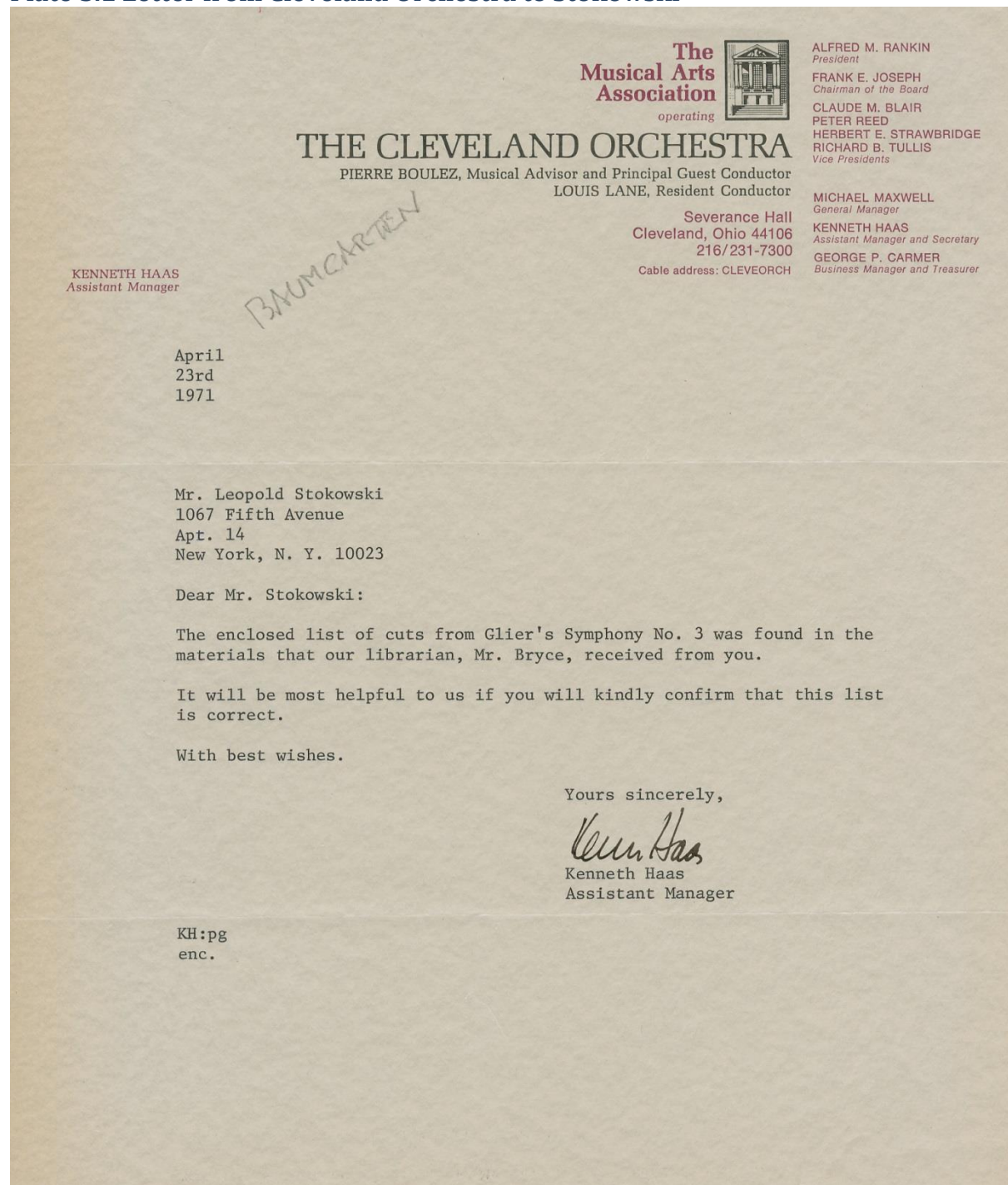


Plate 5.2 Stokowski's cuts

GLIERE "Sym. No 3.

CORRECT CUTS - OCT. 1967

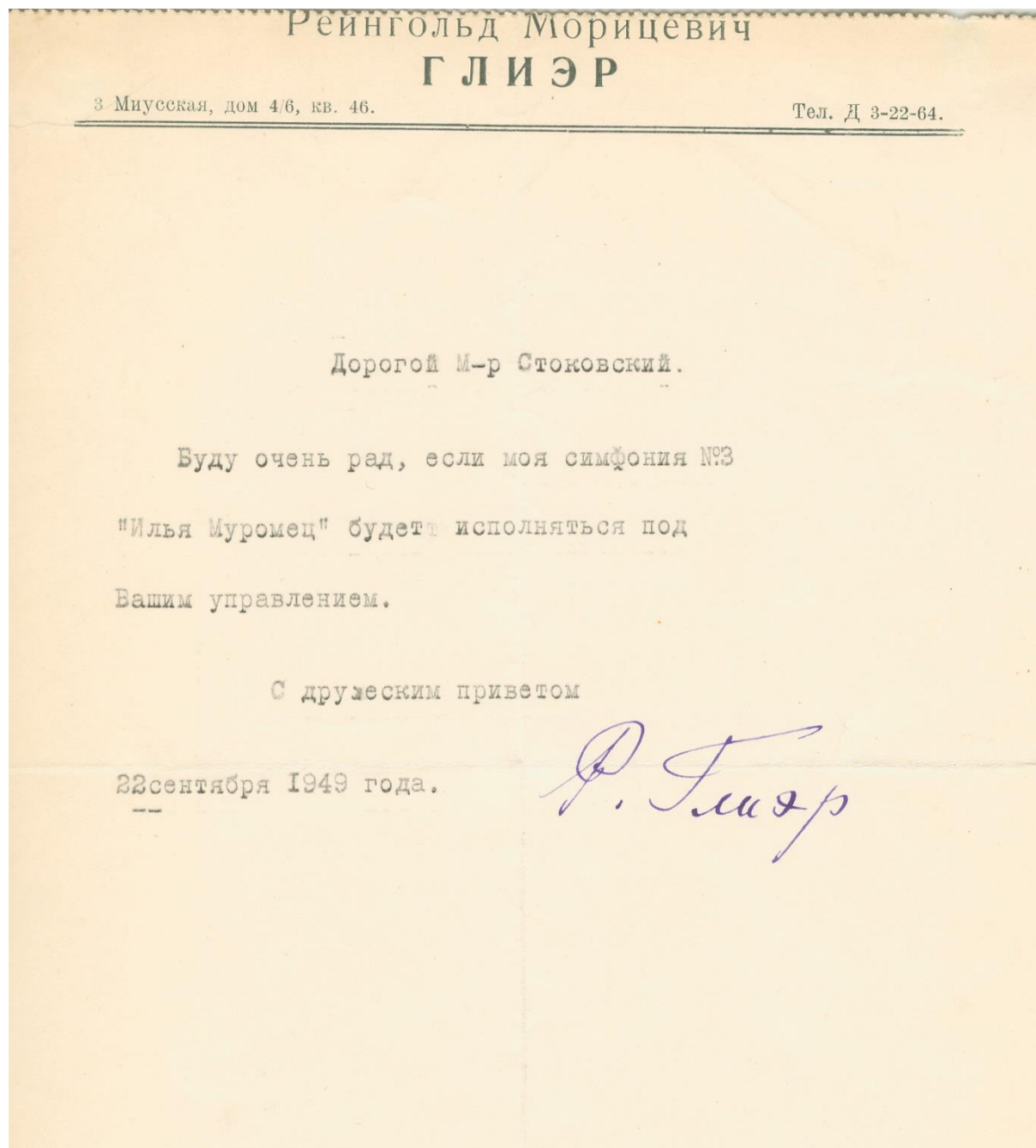
1 1ST. MVT. — ① TO 1 BAR ⑤ — ⑤ TO ⑦ — 1 BAR BEFORE ⑧ TO 1 BAR ⑨ —
 ①⑦ TO ②① — ②② TO ②⑥ — ③① 1½ AFT TO 2½ BFR ③⑤ —
 ③⑧ TO ④② — AFTER ④④ CUT 3-4-5-6 — ⑤⑤ TO ⑤⑨
 ⑦⑦ TO ⑧① — ⑧⑨ TO ⑨②

2 2ND MVT. 4 BARS BEFORE ② — ② SAFTER TO ⑪ — ①④ TO ①⑤ —
 ③② TO 1 BEFORE ④⑦ — ⑤⑧ TO ⑥⑨ — ⑦① TO ⑦⑥

3 3RD MVT. ½ BEFORE ⑪ TO ½ BEFORE ⑬ — ①⑦ TO ③①
 AFTER ③③ CUT 5, 6, 7, 8 BARS — ④④ TO ④⑦

4 4TH MVT. ①⑤ TO ①⑦ — ①⑨ TO ③⑦
 ④④ TO 2 BARS AFTER ④⑤ — AFTER ④⑥ BARS 3-4-5-6 CUT
 ⑤⑤ TO ⑥② — ⑥⑤ TO ⑦① — ⑦② TO 2 BARS AFTER ⑦③
 ⑦⑤ TO ⑨② — ⑨⑥ TO 2 BARS AFTER ①① — ①①① TO ①①②
 ①①⑧ TO 2 BEFORE ①①⑨

Plate 5.3 Letter from Glière to Stokowski 1949



Recorded Versions of *Ilya Muromets*

The symphony was recorded by many conductors - Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra made the first recording in 1940 followed by Jacques Rachmilovich in 1949. Following the lead of Stokowski, Eugene Ormandy made two recordings of the symphony also with the Philadelphia Orchestra. Ormandy did not make as many cuts to the score as Stokowski (the first recording in 1956 totalled 54 minutes whereas the second one in 1972 came to 59). In 1952 the first uncut version was made with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Hermann Scherchen for American label Westminster. Also in 1952 Glière recorded the work with the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra but there are no details available of the timings. Other notable conductors to record the symphony were Ferenc Fricsay conducting the RIAS Orchestra Berlin (1956) and Natan Rakhlin with the USSR Radio Symphony Orchestra. Rakhlin who had conducted many performances of the symphony in the Soviet Union, made small cuts to the score but they were not major as Stokowski's were. In 1993 Igor Golovchin recorded *Ilya Muromets* with Evgeny Svetlanov's orchestra the Russian State Symphony Orchestra which with the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra for many years was Russia's best ensemble. The playing is better than in Rakhlin's recording but minor cuts were also made to the score.

It was not until the dawn of the digital era that a full uncut version of *Ilya Muromets* made its debut in stereo. In 1978 little known American conductor Harold Farberman was hired to conduct an augmented Royal Philharmonic Orchestra for independent British label Unicorn. Sound engineer Bob Auger used pioneering digital technology but it was difficult to edit. As a result the recording was made in just four takes - one for each movement. The lack of editing technology may account for the slowness of some of the tempi (see table 5.3) but

Farberman uncovers many details particularly in the slow movement which are easily lost at a faster pace. In 1991 Sir Edward Downes with the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra (which unlike the Royal Philharmonic had played the piece in concert) produced a more polished performance one of the definitive versions of the uncut score. The 1991 Naxos recording with Donald Johanos leading a Slovakian orchestra which still retains an Eastern European brass sound is a solid, well recorded version. In 2003 Leon Botstein recorded *Ilya Muromets* with the London Symphony Orchestra having performed the work with his own American Symphony Orchestra in New York. Botstein's tempi are fast (22 minutes is considerably faster than Farberman's tempo at 27 minutes) but he has the advantage of a weighty recording from Telarc. The playing is good but not perfect (there are some glitches in the third movement). The most recent interpretation has come from JoAnn Falletta conducting the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra. Again the speeds are faster than the Downes' recording with Falletta's finale taking 23 minutes. The second movement seems to be on the fast side with any sentimentality avoided. The problem is that there are so many harmonic and instrumental felicities in this Scriabinesque piece that the ideal timing is probably between 24 or 25 minutes. Although on balance the Chandos recording is the closest to the definitive version of the work, *Ilya Muromets* proves to be an elusive work for conductors with none achieving the ideal performance in one of the ultimate tests for conductor and orchestra.

Table 5.2 recent *Ilya Muromets* recordings cut

| Movements | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|----------------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| Stokowski 1957 | 11'20" | 9'43" | 4'12" | 12'50" |
| Fricsay 1956 | 16'08" | 13'39" | 5'37" | 15'19" |
| Rakhlin 1974 | 21'30" | 21'15" | 8'06" | 23'47" |
| Ormandy 1972 | 16'52" | 14'41" | 7'20" | 19'45" |
| Talmi 1991 | 21'06" | 18'36" | 6'49" | 19'39" |
| Golovchin 1993 | 25'50" | 19'28" | 7'17" | 22'32" |

Table 5.3 *Ilya Muromets* recordings uncut

| Movements | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|----------------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| Scherchen 1952 | 23'24" | 22'14" | 7'06" | 27'40" |
| Farberman 1978 | 28'28" | 28'44" | 7'56" | 27'30" |
| Downes 1991 | 22'53" | 21'33" | 7'10" | 26'17" |
| Johanos 1991 | 21'47" | 21'46" | 6'55" | 25'07" |
| Botstein 2003 | 22'22" | 20'14" | 7'03" | 22'14" |
| Falletta 2013 | 21'24" | 20'03" | 7'10" | 23'94" |

Conclusion

Ilya Muromets is Glière's masterpiece but it has achieved popularity with its audiences and record enthusiasts rather than the critics. The work has suffered from continual comparisons to other composers particularly Borodin. Glière has by now developed his own idiosyncratic style which is a mix of elements. As Nicholas Slonimsky commented Glière's harmonic style is of the twentieth century: 'It is in Glière's harmony that one may find the chord expansion that definitely places him among twentieth-century composers.'³⁰⁸ Certainly in 'Solovei the Bandit' there are passages derived from augmented fifth and sixth chords that are atonal. In this movement is an impressionistic flavour that Ottorino Respighi, judging by his *Pines of Rome* (1916), also seems to have imbibed. The symphony owes more to Liszt and Wagner than the Kuchka style. Surely the finale with its massive chorale passages pays

³⁰⁸ Slonimsky and Yourke, *Writings on Music*, 2, p. 46.

homage to Bruckner and Mahler as well as Smetana and Rimsky-Korsakov. Although it is not avant-garde in the manner of late Scriabin it was moderately progressive at the time it was composed and certainly not as conservative as Glazunov had become.

Chapter 6

Glière: Miscellaneous Works after *The Red Poppy*

Zapovit'

A significant work by Glière was the symphonic poem *Zapovit* [Testament] written in 1937.

The piece was composed for the 125th anniversary of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. The poem reads:

When I am dead, bury me
In my beloved Ukraine,
My tomb upon a grave mound high
Amid the spreading plain,
So that the fields, the boundless steppes,
The Dnieper's plunging shore
My eyes could see, my ears could hear
The mighty river roar.

When from Ukraine the Dnieper bears
into the deep blue sea
The blood of foes ... then will I leave
These hills and fertile fields
I'll leave them all and fly away
To the abode of God,
And then I'll pray But till that day
I know nothing of God.

Oh bury me, then rise ye up
And break your heavy chains
And water with the tyrants' blood
The freedom you have gained.
And in the great new family,
The family of the free,
With softly spoken, kindly word
Remember also me.

When Glière came to set Shevchenko's line of 'and in the great new family' he thought of the Soviet Union and a wider range of peoples than Shevchenko was referring to. This caused problems for the composer. Initially Glière had included Uzbek and Azeri themes in the piece. In an interview with the newspaper *Soviet Art* Glière said: 'It is particularly difficult to depict in music a great new free family of nations, which the brilliant Ukrainian poet had dreamed of. Working on the coda of my work, I thought of the brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek and Azerbaijani songs are quoted here !'³⁰⁹

Glière was forced to revise this idea when Ukrainian critics complained after the first performance in Kyiv. The final version of the symphonic poem (made by the composer in 1941) did not include any Uzbek or Azeri themes.

Reflecting the first line of the poem the opening quotes the sombre melody of Poltava teacher G. Gladkii who had previously set the words to music.

³⁰⁹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* pp. 152-153.

Ex 6.1 Zapovit bars 1-12

Andante sostenuto

Score for Ex 6.1, Zapovit bars 1-12, Andante sostenuto. The score is written for Viola/Violoncello (Vla., Vlc.) and Contrabass (Cb.) in 3/4 time. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is Andante sostenuto. The score consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a long note in the Viola/Violoncello part and a long note in the Contrabass part. The second system shows the continuation of the piece with more complex rhythmic patterns. The third system shows the end of the piece with a final long note in the Viola/Violoncello part and a final long note in the Contrabass part.

Ex. 6.2 Zapovit bars 32-44

Allegro moderato

Score for Ex. 6.2, Zapovit bars 32-44, Allegro moderato. The score is written for Flute/Guitar (Fg., Cfg.) and Violin/Cor Anglais (Vln., Cor Angl.) in 2/4 time. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is Allegro moderato. The score consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a long note in the Flute/Guitar part and a long note in the Violin/Cor Anglais part. The second system shows the continuation of the piece with more complex rhythmic patterns. The third system shows the end of the piece with a final long note in the Flute/Guitar part and a final long note in the Violin/Cor Anglais part.

The exposition starts at bar 32 with Ex. 6.2 which is a development of the first theme. It is eventually transformed into the major with substantial rhythmic alteration.

Ex. 6.3 Zapovit bars 130-142 «Ой, та йшов козак з Дону»

Meno mosso ♩=84
Ob., Cl.

Archi

The Ukrainian folk song «Ой, та йшов козак з Дону» [Oh that was a Cossack from the Don] is played by oboes and clarinets accompanied by harps and strings. The manner of the accompaniment resembles the sound of a bandura, a Ukrainian lute.

Ex. 6.4 Zapovit Martial episode (animato molto) bars 199-213



This theme signals the start of the development section which consists of a stormy march representing the words: ‘Oh bury me, then rise ye up, And break your heavy chains,’

Ex. 6.5 Zapovit «Эй, ухнем» bars 214-221

Meno mosso ♩=73

Archi
Cor. Angl.

The musical score is for the piece 'Zapovit «Эй, ухнем»' (bars 214-221). It is marked 'Meno mosso' with a tempo of 73 beats per minute. The score is for strings (Archi) and cornets/English horns (Cor. Angl.). The music is in 3/4 time and D major. The strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, while the cornets/English horns play a melody with triplets. The score is divided into three systems, each with two staves.

The music concludes with the brass playing the Russian song «Эй, ухнем». ‘Hey, uhnem’, (otherwise known as ‘Song of the Volga Boatmen’). *Zapovit*’ was first conducted by the composer on March 9, 1939 in the Hall of Columns, Moscow at the Shevchenko anniversary concert.

Harp Concerto

Glière's Concerto for Harp had its origins when the composer met its dedicatee Ksenia Erdeli (1878-1971) in the 1920's. Erdeli was then principal harpist in the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra and was impressed with Glière's harp writing in *The Red Poppy*. Erdeli worked throughout her career on the expansion of the concert repertoire for harp. Accordingly she arranged works of Tchaikovsky, Lyadov, Scriabin, Rachmaninov, Glinka, J.S. Bach, Debussy. She wished to make the harp a firm place among solo instruments. 'We have very few original pieces by Russian composers,' - she told Glière. He was interested in writing a concerto but realised that harp technique was difficult to acquire. Although the composer had employed two harps in *Ilya Muromets* to great effect, a concerto with its emphasis on technique was a different proposition. He mentioned his lack of detailed knowledge to Erdeli and later received a letter from her: 'I propose to put a harp in your apartment and give you some lessons, of course, completely free of charge. This will help you to compose the piece.' This offer was not taken up at the time as the composer was continually preoccupied with the demands of various productions of *The Red Poppy*, and *Shakh-Senem*. Erdeli persisted and kept requesting a concerto from Glière 'I still have not lost hope for you to compose a good piece for the harp,' - she wrote on Dec. 1, 1936.³¹⁰ Finally Glière began composing the harp concerto in the summer of 1938 while holidaying in the spa resort of Kislovodsk after the Decade of Azerbaijan Art and presenting *Shakh-Senem* in Moscow. Having finished a draft of the first movement he consulted with Erdeli back in Moscow: 'I was happy to participate in this creative collaboration, and to give the composer a few special instructions concerning the

³¹⁰ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière pp. 153-154.

technique of my instrument.’³¹¹ On November 23, 1938 - the premiere of the concerto was held in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory performed by Erdeli and the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by LP Steinberg. The soloist paid tribute to the piece:

This concerto is not only an integral part of the repertoire of every harpist, but also widely used in teaching practice. This work led to a keen interest in a variety of concert organisations in cultural centres of our country, and I was invited by the composer to perform the concerto in a number of major cities in the Soviet Union.³¹²

These cities included Voronezh, Rostov, Krasnodar, in Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg), Odessa and Kyiv. Glière’s concerto managed to fill a niche where there has been little written for the harp as a concerto instrument and only then by minor classical era composers such as Adrien Boieldieu and Karl Dittersdorf. The Glière concerto epitomises the Russian tradition of virtuoso orchestral harp writing of Tchaikovsky (in all three of his ballets), Rimsky-Korsakov (*Sheherezade*) and Glazunov (*Raymonda*). It is widely performed by harpists over the world and often chosen as a competition piece.

Overture on Slavonic Themes

In 1941 after the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany, Glière wrote an Overture based on Slavonic themes in honour of Slav solidarity. He based his overture on four themes -

³¹¹ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 pp. 135-136.

³¹² *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 136.

Slovakian (but pan-Slavic), Russian, Bulgarian and Czech. First of all the Russian traditional hymn ‘Slava’ [Glory] Ex. 6.7 forms the basis of a brief opening fanfare.³¹³

Ex. 6.6 Overture on Slavonic Themes ‘Гей, славяне!’

Fl. **Poco meno mosso**
 Ob.
 Cl. $\text{♩} = 116$

Archi pizz.

Then sounds a rebel song, ‘Гей, славяне!’ [Hey, Slavs!] by Samuel Tomasik which has served as a Pan-Slavic anthem, anthem of Yugoslavia and the second, unofficial anthem of Slovakia is heard.

Ex. 6.7 Overture on Slavonic Themes «Слава»

Allegro
 Cor Angl.

Fg. Cor

³¹³ This hymn is featured in the Coronation scene of Mussorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* and Tchaikovsky’s *Battle of Poltava* in *Mazeppa*.

The third theme is a song by Bulgarian composer Boris Trichkov «Родина милая». ‘Rodina Milaya’ [Dear Homeland.] This is rather ironic as Bulgaria was on the Axis side during most of World War 2.

Ex. 6.8 Overture on Slavonic Themes «Родина милая»

Andante
Archi
mf

The musical score is written for strings (Archi) in 3/4 time, marked Andante and mezzo-forte (mf). It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has four measures, and the second system has four measures. The music features a mix of chords and moving lines in both the treble and bass staves.

Ex. 6.9 Overture on Slavonic Themes 'Bývali Čechové!'

Andante

Cor. Angl.

Cor., Fg.

The theme 'Bývali Čechové [They Used to be Czechs] was written by Jan Skroup in 1913.

The overture was first performed by the Moscow Radio Orchestra with the composer conducting in September 1941 on the radio.

The most frequently played wartime work by Glière was the Concerto for Coloratura Soprano and Orchestra. In Sverdlovsk over 1942-1943 the composer and his family were restricted to one room and the only available piano he could work with stood in the dining room of the Union of Composers of Sverdlovsk. Glière had already written been more than a hundred songs and many arias in his operas. In Russian music there were vocalises by

Rachmaninov, Medtner, and Grechaninov but Glière was the first composer to treat the voice as a solo instrument.

According to Igor Belza: ‘This is a poem about the beauty of the nature of our land, the purity, nobility and completeness of the feelings of the Soviet people who fervently love their motherland...’³¹⁴ The concerto requires genuine virtuosity from the soloist but Nadezhda Kazantseva, who offered to perform the concerto, was not phased. At the first meeting with the composer, after playing, he readily said: ‘If it is difficult or inconvenient I can alter it ...’ In order to accommodate the singer, Glière made changes to the tessitura and certain passages. On May 12, 1943 the concerto was first performed by Kazantseva and the Large Radio Symphony Orchestra under the direction of A. Orlov. In a short time the concerto gained popularity worldwide. Soon there were transcriptions of concertos for various instruments and orchestra. For this work the composer was awarded the State Prize of the first degree in 1946.³¹⁵

Cello Concerto

After the war Glière started to sketch a Cello Concerto for cellist Sviatoslav Knushevitsky. He wrote this work over a year and it was completed in late 1946. Consultations with Sergei Knushevitsky helped Glière to make varied use of the solo instrument. However, for the cellist this work is difficult. Knushevitsky noted that it required much rehearsal and careful fingering and bowing preparation. The opening of the concerto is reminiscent of the Act 2 prelude of *Parsifal* and the stormy beginning of Taneyev’s Fourth Symphony.

³¹⁴ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 171.

³¹⁵ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* pp. 169-171.

Ex. 6.10 Cello Concerto first subject

Allegro
Solo vlc.

f
Archi

p

7

11

The musical score is written for a solo cello and an orchestra. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-6) shows the solo cello entering with a half note, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The orchestra enters with a half note. The second system (measures 7-10) continues the cello melody, which is then taken up by the orchestra. The third system (measures 11-13) shows the cello and orchestra playing in parallel motion. The score ends with a double bar line.

Ex. 6.11 Cello Concerto second subject

Ex. 6.11 shows the second subject of the Cello Concerto. The Oboe part (top staff) begins with a whole note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note G4. The Ob. part (bottom staff) begins with a whole note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note G4. The interval markings above the notes are: 2, v1, v7, ^6, v5, v1, ^1, v4+, ^7, ^1, v6, v4, v6, v5+, ^3, v2, v1+.

The more lyrical second subject bears a similarity to Evgeny's theme in *The Bronze Horseman*. The leap of a minor seventh from A to G (bars 2 and 3) and the melodic movement in bars 6 and 7 is reflected in Evgeny's theme.

Ex 6.12 Evgeny's theme (*The Bronze Horseman*) fragment

Ex. 6.12 shows a fragment of Evgeny's theme. The Violas part (top staff) begins with a whole note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note G4. The Violas part (bottom staff) begins with a whole note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note G4. The interval markings above the notes are: 2, ^3, ^4, ^4+, ^5, v3, ^4, ^5, ^5+, ^6, v4, ^5, ^6, ^7-, ^7, ^4, v1+, ^2, v7, ^6, v5, =5, ^1, v7, ^1, v6, v1, ^4, v6, v5+, ^3, v2, v7, ^1.

Evgeny's theme possesses less awkward melodic leaps in the first four bars until the diminished fifth in bar 4. In bar 7 of both examples there is a downward leap of a minor sixth (v4 to v6). The comparison of the concerto with the ballet would suggest that the same

melodic materials were employed but the concerto is more complicated, polyphonic and chromatic. In fact the wartime experiences of the composer seem to have produced a greater level of dissonance than is usual with Glière. The concerto was premiered in the Hall of Columns February 18, 1947. The Moscow Radio Orchestra was conducted by A. Orlov, with soloist Knushevitsky.

The young Mstislav Rostropovich reviewed this concert critically:

Early in 1946³¹⁶ I attended the premiere of Glière's concerto played by Knushevitsky at the Hall of Columns in the House of Unions. The concerto is very long and technically it's very hard. I have to say that technique was not one of Knushevitsky's strong points and on this occasion he simply hadn't studied the work sufficiently. During the performance his memory failed him and he needed to read off the cello part. He put the music on the floor by his feet, but at a certain point he realised that this wasn't going to solve his problems and he kicked the sheets of paper behind his chair. I thought that Knushevitsky showed an extraordinary power of self-possession to get through the concerto with a modicum of dignity.³¹⁷

After this unsatisfactory premiere Glière asked Rostropovich to play the second Moscow performance. Rostropovich obliged with flawless execution playing by memory, Glière dedicated the concerto to him not Knushevitsky. Rostropovich's first thoughts about the concerto for Soviet consumption were rather more charitable than later:

Without analysing in detail in these memoirs the cello concerto of Glière, all the same I would like to mention some of the most striking features of this work. First of all - this is one of the most virtuosic and technically difficult works in the cello repertoire. However, not all technique is equally convenient for example, some harmonics in the final part of the second movement are unplayable but to overcome these technical inconveniences in the concerto always produces a vivid impression on the audience.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Actually 1947

³¹⁷ Wilson, *Rostropovich : The Musical Life of the Great Cellist, Teacher, and Legend*, p. 64.

³¹⁸ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 145.

Rostropovich played the concerto with Glière conducting in many cities - Leningrad, Tallinn, Riga, KharkivKharkiv, and Sverdlovsk. Some years later he was not complimentary about Glière's conducting or the concerto:

Although he directed only his own works, Glière was a mediocre conductor. In one of our concerts together, in Riga, he got muddled and lost control of the orchestra in the second movement. It was only with great difficulty that the orchestra and I managed to get back together to save the situation.

This concerto was the first of a long series of works dedicated to me. I didn't perform it often, since although I respected Glière's musicianship, it is really a second-rate piece.³¹⁹

-
The concerto is long, technically demanding and lacks immediate appeal. It has weight and melancholy that other wartime works, such as the Shostakovich Eighth Symphony, possess. As the cello concerto repertoire is very competitive with Haydn, Dvořak, Elgar and Shostakovich being the favourites, Glière did not achieve the success with this concerto that his other concerti for harp, coloratura and horn have. It is perhaps the 'ugly duckling' of his concertos.

³¹⁹ Wilson, *Rostropovich : The Musical Life of the Great Cellist, Teacher, and Legend*, p. 64.

Horn Concerto

Glière's last concerto was written for horn and orchestra. It had its origins (similar to the Harp Concerto) when the Bolshoi Orchestra was rehearsing *The Bronze Horseman*. Valery Polekh gave his impressions of the composer:

I had an impression of Glière as a modest and very understanding person. His learnedness in music seemed quite boundless to me. He spoke in a nice and simple manner. He asked questions. He liked to know our opinions and always considered them.³²⁰

A year later in winter 1951 Glière invited the horn player to his apartment to play his newly completed concerto from the manuscript. He then gave him the score to practise and make suggestions. After a thorough perusal of the score Polekh suggested several changes which were all accepted by the composer. The soloist wrote the cadenza for himself (which is in the first movement) and prepared the concerto for the premiere on May 10 1951 in Leningrad. The performer described the reception of the audience:

It was a success. We took bows several times. The audience would not let us go. Glière was very pleased... I describe these recollections in such detail because I really cherish them. As I tell you about the first performance, I am once again living through

³²⁰ Valery Polekh, "Birth of the Glière Concerto," *The Horn Call* XXIX, No. 3, no. May 1999 (1999).

one of the most wonderful, fleeting, and very rare moments of a performer's happiness.³²¹

In 1952 Polekh recorded the concerto with the Bolshoi Orchestra, conducted by Glière and the piece became popular in the United States. Recordings have continued to appear - a notable exponent was German horn player Hermann Baumann – as younger generations of horn soloists have taken up the concerto. In 2011 Czech player Radek Baborak played the piece with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

At first the character of the Horn Concerto seemed to elude Marina Leonova:

It contains practically no psychological contrasts; even, placid, and of a cheerful character, its predominantly major tonalities, diatonic harmonies, and bright instrumental timbres are maintained over the course of its three movements. But the composer shows great ingenuity in contrasting different textures and skilfully "exhibits" the solo instrument, finding in its sound a variety of registers, timbre and technical effects.³²²

At first it seemed as if Leonova was describing Alexander Goedicke's³²³ 1929 Concerto for Horn Op. 40 which is restrained and classically constructed. Leonova ignored the fact that the weighty and lengthy first movement of the concerto spends as much time in C and G minor as the tonic of B flat therefore 'predominantly major tonalities' whilst a generality, should not be applied to the first movement. Extensive use of appoggiaturas resolving on to minor chords throughout the movement induces the nostalgic flavour that somehow the Soviet commentators failed to see. There is a military march feel to the first movement reinforced by percussion – triangle, snare drum, bass drum.

Gulinskaya also appeared to under-rate the Concerto for Horn and Orchestra: 'It is a cheerful work. It is dominated by the major key, bright orchestral colours. True, one can

³²¹ "Birth of the Gliere Concerto".

³²² Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 2 p. 63.

³²³ One of Glière's colleagues at the Moscow Conservatory.

regret that in the solo part is dominated by lyrical sound and no episodes of a bright heroic plan.³²⁴ In 1943 Richard Strauss had composed his horn Concerto No. 2 in E flat. The nature of this concerto contains more bravura and brilliant display than the Glière but the latter is popular with horn players because it is technically less demanding and displays the lyrical quality of the horn.

Conclusion

The last years of Glière were marked with high productivity both with a high output of compositions and extensive concert tours including a visit to Romania. If the composer had travelled to Europe on concert tours in the 1920s and toured the United States with *The Red Poppy*, foreign perceptions of Glière and his works could well have altered. Ultimately Glière's reluctance to travel could have due to his close links with Germany and the desire to protect his family from any further distress.

The series of concerti written for harp, voice and horn were very successful; only the 'cello concerto failed to resonate with its audience. The nature of the work and the indisposition of its first performer Sergei Knushevitsky were responsible for this (and the piece was not dedicated to him as would have been normal practice) but even when the performing role was taken over by Mstislav Rostropovich, the concerto could not compete with those of Myaskovsky or Shostakovich.

The next chapter considers Glière's work in Azerbaijan within the context of orientalism as it was one of the few times that he became the centre of controversy partly as a result of

³²⁴ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 201.

Sovietisation policies in a very sensitive region and considering that hostilities over Nagorno-Karabakh have still not been resolved between Azerbaijan and Armenia to this day, it is important to view the opera *Shakh-Senem* in its full context.

Chapter 7

Orientalism or National Opera?

Glière's *Shakh-Senem*

In 1923 Reinhold Glière engaged upon a musical collaboration with the newly-formed Azerbaijan Socialist Republic when he was asked to write an opera based on native Azeri music. The project became controversial reflecting the turbulent politics of the Caucasus of the time. The first version of *Shakh-Senem* was performed in 1927 with a libretto in Russian.

Glière's music came under attack for its lack of authenticity. His critics accused him of portraying Azeri culture with 'artificial musical devices'. Performances were halted and the composer transferred his attentions to a ballet set in contemporary China – *The Red Poppy*. This proved to be far more fruitful for the composer and the first full-length Soviet ballet became one of his major successes.³²⁵ Meanwhile in Azerbaijan, *Shakh-Senem* still retained its supporters and a decision was taken to undertake a revision of the opera with, this time, the libretto in Azeri. Glière relocated to Baku for two and a half years. The revised version received its premiere in 1934 and remained in the repertoire until 1943. In 1936, the composer was invited to Uzbekistan to work on a musical drama based on Uzbek music, *Gyl'sara*, which was performed in 1937. This work formed the basis for an opera completed in 1949.

Considerable criticism has been levelled at Glière's activities in Azerbaijan by Stanley Krebs (1970), Orlando Figes (2002) and Marina Frolova-Walker (2007).

³²⁵ Chinese reaction to the ballet did not eventuate until a visit of Mao Zedong to the Soviet Union in 1950.

Shakh-Senem

The sense of Azeri cultural identity was complicated by the presence of two conflicting traditions – Arabic/Persian and Turkish. Musically, the Persian style was represented by Mugham whereas the Turkish was by an *Ashug* (a travelling minstrel who plays a *saz*, a lute-like instrument). The two genres are linked to different geographic regions - Mugham regions are Garabag (Karabakh), Shirvan and the Shapsironian peninsula. Ashug regions are Gazakh, Nakhichevan and Garabag (all three regions are presently surrounded by Armenia).³⁶² The Karabakh region, which was a host to both types of traditional Azeri music (Shusha was the birthplace of Uzeir Hajebeyov), was to be the subject of ongoing conflict between the Soviet states of Armenia and Azerbaijan which predated the break-up of the Soviet Union.³⁶³

The first example of a synthesis between traditional mugham music and European forms was performed in 1908; its composers had been inspired by a drama *Death on the grave of Layla Majnun*, which was staged in 1897 in their home town of Shusha. The legend was derived from Arabic literature popularised by Persian author Nizami Ganjavi in 1192. The play was in Persian, then regarded by Azeri as their native language. The first composite

³⁶² Inna Naroditskaya, *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham* (New York ; London: Routledge, 2002), p. 12.

³⁶³ The Nagorno-Karabakh war was fought between 1988- 1994. This resulted in Armenia seizing the enclave which it continues to hold to this day (2012).

Mugham-opera *Leyli and Majnun* by Uzeir and Jeyhun Hajibeyov was performed in 1908.³⁶⁴ In 1911 and 1912, Hajibeyov attended private courses in Moscow with Ladukhin for solfège and Sokolov for harmony; in 1913, he entered the organ class of the St Petersburg Conservatory and studied harmony with Kalafati. This was far from a comprehensive conservatory education however. *Leyli and Majnun* was not fully notated and singers and musicians improvised within set parameters. These were the modes each portraying different emotions: *Rast*, *Shur* (joy), *Segah* (love), *Shushtar* (sadness), *Chahargah* (thunder, lightning) and *Humayun*. The harmonic language of the mugham opera was simple. Only three chords were used - tonic, dominant seventh and diminished chords. The monophonic melody sung by voice or choir was usually doubled in the orchestra, whose role was limited to a very simple accompaniment. The orchestra was usually small - it consisted of violin, cello and double bass, two clarinets, trumpet, and tar (lute).³⁶⁵

In 1908, no Azeri women were allowed on stage, so female roles in *Leyli and Majnun* were played by males. In fact, women were not allowed in the audience of the traditional theatres either. Foreign women and members of the Azeri business elite were permitted in the theatre behind a heavy curtain with restricted viewing only.³⁶⁶ This was a problem for aspiring young singer Shevket Mammadova who wished to study abroad. She decided to appear on stage for a benefit concert despite the risks:

Mammadova recalled how in April 1912 Hajibeyov organized a concert to finance her schooling in Italy. The 15 year old singer appeared publicly in European dress without

³⁶⁴ The piece was co-written by Uzeir's anti-Bolshevik brother Jeyhun but he was permanently written out of Soviet-Azeri history when he defected to France in 1919.

³⁶⁵ Boris Zeidman, 'Glière and the Musical Culture of Azerbaijan,' in *Reyngol'D Moritsevich Glière : Stat'I, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), ed. V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-1967), p. 216.

³⁶⁶ Naroditskaya, *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*, p, 173.

a veil. The recital in Baku almost cost her life; only escape from Baku to Tiflis saved the singer [as well as the composer and producers] from Muslim fanatics.³⁶⁷

Mammadova revealed herself not just as an accomplished performer, but a determined and politically astute operator who pursued her ambitions. It was to be her friendship with Glière which initiated the project of a grand opera for Azerbaijan. Although tenor Murtuza Mamedov, who studied in Italy and was nicknamed ‘Bulbul’³⁶⁸ for his sonorous voice, did not suffer the discrimination of his female counterparts, he met with the inertia and conservatism of fellow Azeri who would not listen to Italian opera arias. To be able to give concerts, Bulbul had learned to combine the techniques of the Italian vocal school, with a national style of singing. In Baku there was an aesthetic divide between the foreign population which now made up more than three-quarters of the population and local Azeri. The Europeans found the mugham operas boring and the traditional Azeri could not tolerate Italian opera:

The sound of mugham is distinctive, especially to one unaccustomed to this music. It is mainly monodic. (The instrumental parts accompanying a singer do not produce the harmonic and polyphonic texture typical of western music.) With little motivic, temporal, or dynamic contrast, mugham melody is based upon a relatively narrow tonal range and exhibits a step-wise motion. For an uninformed audience, the sound of mugham, the melodic filigree and endless ornament may seem extremely monotonous.³⁶⁹

The lack of contrast and variety in mugham music would help to explain why the pro-European elite, consisting primarily of Russians and Armenians, wished to see a vehicle closer to grand opera which would utilise their western-trained singers to the full. In contrast,

³⁶⁷ *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*, p. 174.

³⁶⁸ Persian/Azeri for nightingale

³⁶⁹ Naroditskaya, *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*, p. 35.

both Armenian and Georgian music had full polyphony: 'Azeri music was essentially monophonic, unlike that of the neighbouring Armenians and Georgians'.³⁷⁰

Glière had met Mammadova in Kyiv in 1918 when she was studying at the Kyiv Conservatory. Her vocal professor Alexandra Sperling had invited Glière to hear Mammadova sing, promising him an interesting introduction to Turkish music. As she related:

I sang one song after another, trying my best to reveal the unique beauty of the tunes of my native music... Reinhold Moritsevich listened attentively and at the same time drew by hand five lines on a piece of paper and transcribed the melodies he liked. Sometimes he stopped me and asked to repeat a passage. Very late in the evening he went away, getting me to promise to sing it again next Thursday. And there were many Thursdays.³⁷¹

At the request of Sperling, Glière arranged and orchestrated some Azeri songs for Mammadova to sing, receiving her gratitude: 'he did everything with delicate taste and a deep understanding and sense of the national melodies'.³⁷² The singer asked the composer if he would go to Baku and write an opera for her when the Soviets took over Azerbaijan. Circa 1921, Mammadova and her husband Yaakov Lubarsky (journalist and activist), returned to Baku from Kyiv where they continued to correspond with Glière who was by now in Moscow. Mammadova became a soloist of the Baku Opera. In 1921, a Soviet-style conservatory was opened which recruited singers and musicians from the Caucasus and beyond.

³⁷⁰ Neil Edmunds, *Soviet Music and Society under Lenin and Stalin : The Baton and Sickle* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p. 218.

³⁷¹ Shevket Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' in *Reynhold Moritsevich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials] 1965–7*, ed. V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1967), vol. 2 p. 247.

³⁷² 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 247.

In early 1923, Glière received a letter from Lubarsky and Mammadova, who asked the composer if he could come to Baku to familiarise himself with the culture of Azerbaijan and to write an opera based on Azeri melodies. Glière replied on 25 February, 1923:

I am very happy and congratulate Shevket Gasanovna with her success on the stage. If I write an Eastern opera, it will be consistent with her voice. You ask about the visit to the Caucasus in order to write an opera based on eastern folk music. I could visit in the summer. August, September and October, I could write in the Caucasus, and I could finish it in Moscow.³⁷³

This rather contradicts Frolova-Walker's strong implication that the initiative for the opera came solely from Mustafa Kuliyeu, the Azeri Minister of Education.³⁷⁴ It was Lubarsky and Mammadova who drew the attention of the minister to Glière's willingness to collaborate on the opera: 'My husband and I made a memorandum to Narkompros and got invitation from there for Glière to accept offering him the first opportunity to go to Baku.'³⁷⁵ Later in 1923, Glière embarked on the first of his missions into the sovietised Caucasus and Central Asian regions:

In August 1923 we are pleased to have met Reinhold Moritsevich. At home we had arranged the meeting, which was attended by the People's Commissar of Education Mustafa Kuliyeu, chairman of the Extraordinary Commission, Assad Akhundov, head of the music sector in the People's Commissariat, Abdul Rahim, Bey Akhverdiev poet, Jafar Dzhabarly and my husband and me.³⁷⁶

There was a major discussion about the libretto and which scenario to adopt. When the poet Akhverdiev suggested the legend of *Ashik Kerib*, Glière remembered an early 1837 story by Lermontov based on the same legend. The proposal was adopted and the title was given to the female heroine of the story, *Shakh-Senem*. The librettist was Kyiv-born poet Mikhail

³⁷³ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 248.

³⁷⁴ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 321.

³⁷⁵ Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 248.

³⁷⁶ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 248.

Galperin, head of the literary section of the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. Glière started work on the opera, staying in Azerbaijan for two months:

In this visit, he met frequently with composer Uzeyir Hajibeyov and made close friends with the finest connoisseurs of local music: the popular folk singer and poet Jabbar Karyagdy, the famous tar player Kurban Primov and opera singer Bulbul.³⁷⁷

It is significant that Mammadova's version clearly distinguished a cooler relationship between Hajibeyov and Glière, from that which existed with the other three Azeri musicians with whom he was on more friendly terms. If so that would support Frolova-Walker's contention that Hajibeyov was against the opera. What Frolova-Walker omitted to mention though, was that according to Mammadova, Glière had consulted with Hajibeyov frequently.³⁷⁸ Arguably, the Azeri composer had some opportunity to contribute to the project, given that Glière was renowned for his collaborative skills. Judging by a letter from Glière to Mammadova on 3 December 1923, the Soviet composer wished to spend more time with Hajibeyov and obtain his opinion on the structure and harmony of Turkish songs on his next visit to Azerbaijan. This implies that meetings between the two were not as frequent as Mammadova believed:

I hope to return to Azerbaijan in the nearest future ... When I come, I would like to visit Hajibeyov. I am still wondering what his feedback would be and what he has to say about the nature and structure of Turkish songs (and perhaps harmony)...³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 248.

³⁷⁸ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 331.

³⁷⁹ Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' vol. 2 p. 250.

It would have been expected that the aspects of the Turkish songs Glière wished to discuss would have been covered in meetings before then. It seems that more time was spent with the other musicians and that they were more helpful:

They introduced him to the elements of Azerbaijani music and helped him to collect and record extensive and valuable music and folk material. We spent about two months with Glière and during that time we repeatedly travelled to areas of the country, listening to folk singers out there, making friends with folk dancers and recording themes that interested him. Before he started writing music of the opera, he carefully studied the origins of Azerbaijani folk melodies. Several tunes that were heard by Glière in my performances formed the basis of some future opera arias.³⁸⁰

Till then Azeri music had been a purely oral tradition and Glière had to transcribe the melodies himself, which was a time-consuming task. In 1923, collections of Turkic folk songs were not available. The first published collection was made by Hajibeyov and Muslim Magomayev in 1927. Glière described the task that confronted him:

Getting started I did not have the appropriate musical material written down and so I had to personally transcribe the music. Almost all melodies used by me in the opera are ancient Azerbaijani songs made known to me by ashug (minstrel) Jabari Karyagdy and tar player, Kurban Primov. There are also tunes sung to me by Shevket Mammadova.³⁸¹

In another article, Glière detailed the places he visited during his two months in Azerbaijan:

Baku, Shusha, Ganja (now Kirovabad) and visits to villages, meeting with folk singers and professional artists, family celebrations and finally - the musical life of the street - it was for me an inexhaustible source of new artistic experiences.³⁸²

Glière returned to Moscow in October 1923, and immediately began work on the opera. He met with Galperin, and consulted on the libretto with Nemirovich-Danchenko and Ippolitov-

³⁸⁰ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' vol. 2 p. 250.

³⁸¹ Zeidman, 'Glière and the Musical Culture of Azerbaijan,' p. 219.

³⁸² Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 296.

Ivanov, who told him the opera should have four acts rather than six scenes. Glière also said that he wanted Galperin to accompany him in his next visit to Baku to help his work on the libretto and that he would be able to finish the first act then.

In early 1924, Glière again travelled to Baku. At the homes of Hajibeyov and Mammadova, he played many excerpts from the opera. He also received an invitation to play at several chamber music concerts and received a letter of appreciation from students of the Baku Conservatory.³⁸³ Later that year in May, Glière went to Baku for further consultations with folk singers and musicians for his opera and worked on the script with Galperin and Jafar Dzhabarl. At a gathering at Lubarsky's residence, which included the chief director of the opera Bogolyubov, conductor Klibson, Jafar Jabbarly, Galperin and writer and critic Schweitzer (who adopted the pseudonym 'pessimist'), Glière dedicated the opera to Mammadova.

Later that year Kuliyeu launched a campaign in the press in support of *Shakh-Senem*. He wrote an article under his pseudonym 'Samiti' which was published in the newspaper *Коммунизм* [Communist] on 16 September, 1924, which started a debate about the development of Azerbaijani opera. The article criticised the mugham-operas, highlighting their provincialism and backwardness.³⁸⁴ The modernising agenda was emphasised with the statement: 'Türk opera must go along with the Arabic alphabet and the yashmak.'³⁸⁵ In retaliation, Azeri nationalists alleged that the invitation to Glière and the commission for him

³⁸³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 114.

³⁸⁴ Zeidman, 'Glière and the Musical Culture of Azerbaijan,' pp. 216-217.

³⁸⁵ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 321.

to write an Azerbaijani opera was regarded as ‘undermining’ the very foundations of a national culture, and the composer was called a ‘Varangian outsider’.³⁸⁶

As Hajibeyov was the primary composer of mugham-operas and much of this criticism was aimed at him, it seems reasonable to assume that there were considerable tensions between him and Kuliyeu at the time. Perhaps this accounted for the hostility that Hajibeyov had for Glière’s project as evidenced by a statement from 1925:

Augmented seconds in music, images of the nightingale and rose in poetry, flower-bud ornaments in the visual arts, multi-coloured costumes and ceremonial bows in the theatre: all this pseudo-Eastern style can only jar on the Eastern people and violate their spirit and tastes.³⁸⁷

Despite his protest, demographics were against Hajibeyov. By 1926 the majority of the population of Baku was foreign - Russians were 37%, Armenians 17%, Jews 4%, with Azeri only 26%.

Glière continued to send progress reports to Mammadova:

All the time I am occupied only writing (the opera). Most often I compose from 12 to 6 in the night when there are no phone calls and no other interfering circumstances. I compose all three acts immediately. Much has been done and it seems good. But I will not have time to finish by the earlier half of December.³⁸⁸

To compound Glière’s problems, in 1925, Mammadova (and her husband) left Baku to finish her vocal studies in Milan, before the premiere of *Shakh-Senem*. Glière began to have misgivings about the opera, as his star soprano would not be able to play her role and she was one of its biggest supporters. Shevket Mammadova wrote:

I was not able to participate in performances in 1926 and 1927, because in the beginning of 1925 I, along with my husband went abroad. I lived one year in France

³⁸⁶ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* pp. 114-115.

³⁸⁷ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 331.

³⁸⁸ Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 249.

and three years in Italy, where I improved in the vocal arts, and gave concerts in many cities.³⁸⁹

In March 1926, during the First Turkological congress in Baku, the overture and Act I of the opera were performed. The producer was A.G. Borisevko and conductor V. Schaeffer. The critics were divided with one in particular; 'Schweitzer', saying the opera was too long and required revision. Kuliyeu admitted to Mammadova in Moscow that there was opposition to the work but was determined for the project to continue.³⁹⁰

A year later, in March 1927, the premiere of the full opera was held. The main roles were performed by artists of the Russian opera, E. Krasnitskaya (Shakh-Senem), I. Lopatin (Ashik Kerib) and Vladimir Nikolsky (Bahrambek). This time the conductor was AV Pavlov-Arbenin. The audience warmly greeted the performance, but the pressure of nationalist music circles was so fierce that the opera was not repeated. Despite Baku being an international city at this time, the decision to set an Azeri opera in the Russian language was perhaps a miscalculation. It hampered the acceptance of the work, particularly amongst the native audience. As neither Shevket Mammadova nor Bulbul appeared in the title roles, there was less likelihood for their followers to support an opera in Russian. In 1928, Kuliyeu attempted to keep his project alive:

In 1928, the newspaper *Коммунист* [Communist] in number 278 of November 30, devoted a full page article about Azerbaijan opera under the headline: Azerbaijani opera in a state of agony. A few days later (№ 284 of December 7) under the same title was published an article by Khalil Ibrahim - 'Either a Cultural, Modern Opera, or - Nothing', and published a collective letter of oil workers, railway workers - We need

³⁸⁹ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 250.

³⁹⁰ 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 252.

new Azerbaijani opera. Along with regular demands for the need for updating opera repertoire again were voices to ban the old mugham operas.³⁹¹

It was not until Mammadova returned to Baku in 1931 that interest was revived in *Shakh-Senem*. She realised the shortfalls of the opera but was determined that it would succeed:

In late 1929, I returned to the Soviet Union. After several months of living in Moscow, where my husband worked at the time, I sang in the Tiflis opera, season 1930/31 and from season of 1931/32 returned to the Baku opera troupe. Soon I raised the issue of a production of *Shakh-Senem*. My initiative was supported, with the result that came the decision to stage the opera again, but in the Azerbaijani language. The new edition of the libretto demanded significant changes, new music and new instrumentation.³⁹²

Glière was sent an invitation to come to Baku for the contract, and in November 1931 he arrived in Azerbaijan. For two and a half years he worked on the new revision and wrote extra music. During this period, for most of his time Glière stayed in Baku, only occasionally leaving for Moscow Conservatory sessions with students and leaving to perform in concerts in other cities. The work was delayed owing to the illness of Jafar Jabbarli, who was translating the libretto into the Azeri language. Staging was hindered by frequent changes in directors, choreographers and performers.

The new version had five new arias for *Shakh-Senem*: the meeting with Ashik Kerib in the first act, written in a lively dance tempo, three lyrical arias (first, second and fourth acts) and the Ballade in the finale of the third act. One peculiarity about the opera is that it has no mixed chorus scenes and the male or female choir was not allowed to sing in harmony. This surely limits the appeal of the work to Western (including Russian) audiences.

³⁹¹ Zeidman, 'Glière and the Musical Culture of Azerbaijan,' pp. 216-217.

³⁹² Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 252.

Shakh-Senem scenario

Opera in four acts, 5 scenes.

Characters:

- Bahrambek, lord, bass
- Shakh-Senem, his daughter, soprano
- Agjagyz, her friend, mezzo-soprano
- Ashik Kerib, singer, tenor
- Khani, his mother, mezzo-soprano
- Shahveled, lord, baritone
- Hadzhiahmed, friend of Ashik Kerib, tenor
- Guloglan butler of Shahveled, tenor
- Ashyg: Hasan, tenor, Samad, tenor
- Khan, baritone
- Herald, baritone

Act I

In the garden of Lord Bahrambek, his daughter, the beautiful-Shakh-Senem, tells her friends, of her love for the young singer Ashik Kerib. His sweet voice is heard from afar, and Shakh-Senem asks friends to leave her: she will meet her lover. But trouble is awaits the lovers. Shakh-Senem's father has arranged her marriage to the rich and noble Shahveled. When sentries find Ashik Kerib alone with Shakh-Senem, he is furious and tells the servants to boy put the boy in chains and imprison him in the dungeon. Shakh-Senem comes to his rescue. Using the fact that Bahrambek and his servants are busy with preparations for the meeting with Shahveled, Shakh-Senem and her girlfriends release Ashik Kerib. The young man is forced to leave his liberators and flee to foreign lands. Shakh-Senem states that she will wait seven years for her loved one. Upon learning that Shakh-Senem helped Ashik Kerib to escape, Bahrambek threatens daughter with brutal violence.

Act 2

Scene 1

On a hot summer day, a homeless wanderer Ashik Kerib is resting on the banks of a quiet river. All the thoughts of the young singer are about Shakh-Senem. Would he ever see her again? But even here, in exile, the young man has enemies. Guloglan pursues him. When Ashik Kerib plunges into the river to refresh his tired body, Guloglan takes the singer's shirt.

Scene 2.

Market day in the village of a distant feudal principality. Long rows of caravans.

The bustle of the marketplace is interrupted by the Khan's herald. He solemnly announces now on the Square will be a popular entertainment - a competition for singers. The reward will be a necklace presented by the khan's daughter. The competition starts in the presence of Khan, his daughter and retinue. Ashik Hasan competes with Ashik Samad and easily wins. His superiority is so obvious that no one dares to continue the competition. Hasan is ready to celebrate his victory, but the crowd parts, and a boy comes forward. He boldly takes up the challenge and wins the competition. The Khan and his cronies are annoyed: a complete unknown has dared to win an award at the famed palace of the Ashiks! The Khan's daughter refuses to hand over the necklace to Ashik Kerib.

Ashik Kerib learns that if he did not now save Shakh-Senem, she would become the wife of the hated Shahveled. But how could he travel back many hundreds of miles in one day? The young man asks for help from his recent listeners who so praised his singing. But the people do not remain indifferent to the woes of the singer- they give Ashik Kerib a fabulously swift horse, which had no equal in the world.

Act III

The action begins in the chambers of Shakh-Senem where she is in imprisoned, but she remains true to her lover, in spite of her father's wishes. There is no news of Ashik Kerib For almost seven years, she has resisted her father. Love helps the girl to withstand all tests. But some devastating news leads to despair. Ashik Kerib's mother tells Shakh-Senem about her son's death - Guloglan showed her his bloody shirt. Exhausted the girl falls into oblivion. She dreams of over the waters of the rivers, over the tops of the mountains on a fabulous horse racing over the mountains. This is him - her lover Ashik Kerib. Shakh-Senem no longer believes that he is dead and still waits for him.

Act IV

The appointed time has passed. If Ashik Kerib does not return, Shakh-Senem will become the wife of Shahveled. The wedding party is in full swing. The despondent bride arrives. But at that moment a voice from afar inspires hope in the heart of Shakh-Senem. When Ashik Kerib

on horseback approaches his lover, the loyalty of the couple is rewarded thwarting the wishes of Bahrambek .

Ex. 7.5 *Shakh Senem* Overture Арспаи свадебный танец Wedding Dance

Moderato

C.A., Vla.

Vlc.

Ex. 7.6 *Shakh Senem* overture bars 119-123 lyrical song

Ob., Cl.

Vln.

Hp.

This theme is Shakh-Senem's aria in Act IV. The theme forms an important part of the overture with the 'steamy orientalism' which Frolova-Walker referred to, in full display.

Ex. 7.7 *Shakh Senem* overture Armenian dance (also Act II) ‘Enzeli’



The Armenian dance is just one of six dance numbers in Act II - ‘Enzeli’, ‘Dance of the Snakes’. ‘Arab Dance of the Boys’, ‘Persian Dance’ ‘Dance of the Deva’ and ‘Bacchanalia’.

The ballade from Act III describes the dream of Shakh Senem. It is dominated by a galloping rhythm which signifies Ashik Kerib’s horse travelling over the mountains. It evokes European lieder including Schubertian and Mahlerian models. The restless harmonies and the *Sturm und Drang* constant state of momentum plus its orchestration are paralleled by Mahler’s third song from *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*, ‘Ich hab’ ein glühend Messer’. While the ballade’s lyrics are not as dark as Mahler’s, there is a depth to the aria which is rarely found in Glière.

Ex. 7.8 Shakh-Senem ballade Act III finale

ШАХ - СӘНЕМ
Баллада

Русский текст М. Гальперина
Азербайджанский текст Джафара Джабарлы

ŞAHSƏNƏM
İli bir qartal lək

Azərbaycan təqsi Çəfər Cəbbarlıyındı
Rusça təqsi M. Ojalperinindir

P. ГАНЭР
R. OJLIER

Agitato

Голос

В до

ф. п.

f

p

ли нах ши ро - - ких, за су мра - ком гор, где
ti bir qar tal - - tək jyk - sək daql - lar - dan, ojl

ту чи за кры ли ла зур - ный про стор, на
паql bir byl byl tək ja - şyl baql - lar - dar. bir

Ex. 7.9 Shakh Senem's Aria Act IV

АРИЯ ШАХ-СЭНЕМ
(из IV действия оперы „ШАХ-СЭНЕМ“)

Слова М. ГАЛЬПЕРИНА Р. ГЛАЗЕР

Andante

Ф-п. *f* *disposita* *p* *tranquilla* *f* *ten.* *p*

cresc. accelerando molto

f *p* *meno mosso*

Голос

Нот уж страш-ный час на-стал,

М. БЭНД

амеръ мо - а те - перъ баша - ка. Про -

- маи, мой - та мо - а, сестъ о - ваи,

молъ Ко - рюбъ, отъ насъ - на къ - ма мо - а.

а tempo

After the improvised section of the first eleven bars (which also starts the overture) the D sharp in bar 3 is harmonised with a diminished seventh chord. This chord appears to perform the dominant function. The diminished seventh chords are a major characteristic of the aria and although distasteful to Hajebeyov the harmonisation was instinctive to Glière. The main interest lies in the vocal part with its melismatic writing with a relatively simple accompaniment.

In December 1933, Glière went to Baku to prepare for the premiere. He started orchestrating the opera and holding stage rehearsals. On 14 March, 1934, Glière began daily orchestral rehearsals and continued to work on the orchestration of unfinished numbers. Finally the premiere of *Shakh-Senem* was held on 4 May, 1934 at the Baku Theatre of Opera and Ballet, conducted by the composer. The major roles were played by Shevket Mammadova (Shakh-Senem), Bulbul (Ashik Kerib) and VA Nikolsky (Bachrambek). The latter had played the same role in the Russian version. The reception was more positive than previous incarnations of the opera, owing to the presence of Shevket Mammadova and Bulbul in the starring roles. The importance of setting the opera in Azeri has been under-stated by commentators but perhaps it brought Hajibeyov onside: ‘The opera *Shakh-Senem*, was ably done by the composer, and so a strong beginning of a new operatic culture in Azerbaijan was laid.’ wrote Hajibeyov.³⁹³ In fact, Gulinskaya alleged even wider support amongst the native population:

Even ardent nationalists, from the start rebelling against the idea of creating an opera, who were against what they called Russification of Azerbaijani art, were conquered

³⁹³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 120.

by the skill of the composer, the art of young singers, spectacle and an enthusiastic reception by the public.³⁹⁴

Mammadova commented on the reaction of the press:

The opera was a great success, marked not only in the local press, but also in the national press... Our biggest win, a great job by genuine masters - these headlines marked the appearance of the opera on the stage of the Azerbaijani theatre.³⁹⁵

***Shakh-Senem* Reception History**

The Baku newspaper *Vyshka* [Tower] appealed for the opera to become available to the widest social circles, 'so that all oil workers of Baku were able to assess the landslide victory of the national art.' *Baku komsomolets* noted the perfect combination of specific national music with a high perfection of European compositional technique and pointed out that the music perfectly displayed the basic concept of opera-protest against the tyranny and violence of the feudal nobility and the desire for the emancipation of Eastern women. It was further claimed that the overture, Oriental dances, aria of Kerib and *Shakh-Senem*, and the colourful wedding procession could be easily ranked as the best pages of world music.³⁹⁶

Post-Soviet scholars were not so positive about the opera. Frolova-Walker made a vehement case against *Shakh-Senem*. This was that *Shakh-Senem* 'set a precedent for complacent orientalism in the genre' and did not reflect the true nature of Azeri music, despite Glière's considerable exposure to the music of the region. *Shakh-Senem* was seen as no different from 'the fantasies of Russian noblemen about the conquered peoples of the

³⁹⁴ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 120.

³⁹⁵ Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 253.

³⁹⁶ Gulinskaya, Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 120.

empire'. Hajibeyov was quoted as deploring the use of augmented seconds and other clichés depicting a pseudo-Eastern style in the opera. The Soviet music journal *Sovetskaya muzyka* referred to 'conventional external exoticism' and 'old and dead orientalist traditions' in connection with the opera. A musical example from *Shakh-Senem* (Kerib's aria from Act 1) demonstrated the archaisms that Glière employed (flattened sixth, augmented second).³⁹⁷ Frolova-Walker questioned how Glière chose to write 'steamy orientalism' in *Shakh-Senem* if Azeri music did not sound like that:

He was able to play the role of a consummate and polished Kuchka epigone when he wished and in *Shakh-Senem* he demonstrated that he was capable of the steamiest post-Kuchka orientalism. This may sound puzzling since Glière was able to hear the genuine music of the Azeris for himself ...³⁹⁸

On the contrary, there were elements of Azeri music that did sound close to 'post-Kuchka orientalism', as Sergei Prokofiev witnessed:

Once while walking along the embankment in Baku, I saw an old beggar playing on a pipe. His music strangely resembled *Sheherezade*. I believe that when such a vivid means of elaborating Iranian or related Iranian material exists, the composer, if he really wishes to create a truly worthwhile composition, must first decide how to handle this material; because if he does so in the manner of *Sheherezade*, it will still sound like a copy of Rimsky-Korsakov or Borodin no matter how hard he tries.³⁹⁹

Prokofiev's discovery of an old beggar in Baku playing material that 'resembled *Sheherazade*' - an orientalist work - seems at variance with Frolova-Walker's perception of 'the genuine music of the Azeris' which the beggar represented. Prokofiev, as an early modernist composer, was concerned about the aesthetic results of a transcription. Therefore, Frolova-Walker's problem with *Shakh-Senem*'s orientalisms was perhaps a matter of her aesthetics. Bellman defined the aesthetical problem in this way:

³⁹⁷ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, pp. 330-331.

³⁹⁸ *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*.

³⁹⁹ Viktor Aronovich Yuzefovich, *Aram Khachaturyan* (New York: Sphinx Press, 1985), p. 147.

... works that use musical gestures to suggest specific people, places, or cultures are often put in a separate, problematic critical category: separate because of the unstated, unproven, yet (seemingly) widely held assumption that there exists some kind of standard, definable, more normative style that does not evoke identity or place so specifically, and problematic because of the long-standing tradition ... that local color automatically implies cheapness, ephemerality, and compositional weakness.⁴⁰⁰

The 'standard normative style' that Bellman referred to is what Frolova-Walker was expecting of Glière – ignoring the fact that he was the heir to a romantic tradition and that the story of *Shakh-Senem* itself was highly evocative and sensual which Gulinskaya referred to as 'a story of pure and all-conquering love.'⁴⁰¹

Gulinskaya believed that the melody of the Chahargah mugham, which sounds at the beginning of the *Shakh-Senem* overture, was harmonised and orchestrated by the composer in such a way that it preserved the character of mugham improvisation. *Shakh-Senem* absorbed more than thirty authentic folk melodies and that Glière, 'deeply learned in Azerbaijani folk art', managed to preserve the core of the national influences of these melodies, to achieve an amazing stylistic integrity of the whole work.⁴⁰²

Hajibeyov discovered when he was commissioned to write a Western opera, *Keroglu*, that he was forced to abandon the principles that he had defended. These principles included statements such as:

The 'Oriental' style is a convention, a cliché that frees a composer from all responsibilities. It is represented largely by an abundance of chromaticism, by the augmented second and various other idiosyncrasies. Azerbaijani music has no chromaticism - on the contrary we have the strictest diatonicism.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Jonathan D Bellman, 'Musical Voyages and Their Baggage: Orientalism in Music and Critical Musicology,' *Music and Letters* 93, no. 3 (2011): p. 420.

⁴⁰¹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 116.

⁴⁰² *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 121.

⁴⁰³ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 335.

When Hajibeyov actually classified the modes, it transpired that three of the six modes in Azeri mugham contained augmented second intervals (Shahargah, Sushtar) and the sixth mode (Humayun) had two sets of augmented seconds.⁴⁰⁴

Ex 7.10 Mugham modes

Scale Rast

Scale Shur

Scale Segah

Scale Shahargah

Scale Shushtar

Scale Humayun

405

⁴⁰⁴ See next page

⁴⁰⁵ Naroditskaya, *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*, p. 40.

On 25 May, 1934, Glière was awarded the title of People's Artist of Azerbaijan SSR: 'For special merits before the Azerbaijani workers, for their active participation in the development of a new Turkic musical culture, for many years of work on the creation of the opera *Shakh-Senem*'. Shevket Mammadova received the same award.

Shakh-Senem was performed at the Baku Opera House from 1934-1943 but then disappeared from the repertoire and was never repeated. Mammadova expressed her regret at this and called for the opera to be translated into Russian so it would be more widely performed:

For very understandable reasons, for more than twenty years *Shakh-Senem* this pearl of Azerbaijani opera, does not sound on the Azerbaijani stage. It's unfortunate! I firmly believe that there will be a time when this wonderful opera again grace the stage of our theatre, and possibly other musical theatres in the country. But for this a new version of the libretto in Russian needs to be made.⁴⁰⁶

Glière went from the one extreme of receiving the award of People's Artist of Azerbaijan SSR in 1934 and being described as an Azerbaijani composer (in *Twenty Soviet Composers*)⁴⁰⁷ in 1942, to being completely expunged from Azerbaijan's cultural history:

... some of the republics later preferred to forget about their Russian guest composers: the Azerbaijanis went so far as to exclude all mention of the once-celebrated Glière from their music history texts.⁴⁰⁸

Although it is unlikely that Mammadova's wish to see the *Shakh-Senem* libretto translated from Azeri into Russian will ever be granted, particularly after the fall of the Soviet Union, a recent performance of the overture recorded in the 1990s by British classical label Chandos

⁴⁰⁶ Mammadova, 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher,' p. 255.

⁴⁰⁷ Moisenko and Workers' Music Association London., *Twenty Soviet Composers*.

⁴⁰⁸ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin*, p. 319.

revealed that musically at least some of *Shakh-Senem* is of high enough quality and interest to deserve greater exposure perhaps in the form of a suite using the many dances that were composed for the opera.

According to Azerbaijan's *Trend* magazine (in English) there is some support for *Shakh Senem* to be revived in Azerbaijan:

Shakh Senem was last staged in 1939 and it can only be returned to the stage, having made serious adjustments and cuts before that, the director of the Azerbaijan State Opera and Ballet Theater Akif Melikov told *Trend*. According to him, '*Shakh Senem* - the opera is too cumbersome and by timing it is close to the primary version of *Koroglu*, which was on the stage for almost six hours. *Shakh Senem* is not a typical Azeri opera, although it is built on folk melodies, motives,' said Melikov, 'it can feel the intonation of the Russian opera.'⁴⁰⁹

Apparently Glière's opera did not enjoy serious success with the audience, and in terms of performance was not easy for the soloists. 'It was necessary to perform the same mughams, but somewhat in the European tone of voice. For the final restoration, *Shakh Senem* needs much work, so that it becomes dynamic and interesting for the modern viewer,' Melikov believes.⁴¹⁰

The author editorialises:

Undoubtedly, we are glad that the opera that entered, of course, in the history of Azerbaijani culture, is not lost (all the necessary musical material is available in the Opera House), but rather forgotten. Let's hope that sooner or later, after the necessary edition in

⁴⁰⁹ Eldar Huseynzadeh, 'Shakh Senem,' *Trend* 2010.

⁴¹⁰ "Shakh Senem."

the 21st century (perhaps in the classical format), it will be restored after all, because it is impossible to scatter this property(sic.).⁴¹¹

Glière in Uzbekistan - *Gul'sara, Leyli and Majnun*

. In 1936 Glière received a proposal from the Office of the Arts of Uzbekistan to lead preparations for the Dekada of Uzbek art in Moscow, scheduled for the last week of May 1937. He was invited to prepare the musical drama *Gyulsara*. The story is about the life of a young Uzbek woman who rebels against the centuries-old oppression of feudal remnants, discards the veil, and despite the fierce resistance of her father who injuring her and kills her mother, rushes to a new life. The drama was adapted by K. Jashen and M. Mukhamedova with folk music material collected by T. Jalilov and recorded by T. Sadykov. Glière selected from folk music the most appropriate melodies for the characteristics of the main characters, harmonised them and orchestrated them. There were also dance scenes, which were also accompanied by Uzbek folk instruments. Almost half of the work was completed while Glière was in Tashkent. *Gyulsara* was first shown on the stage of the Uzbek Musical Theatre in April 1937. A week before the Uzbek Decade of Art in Moscow the overture of *Gyulsara* was twice performed by the USSR State Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Aleksandr' Gauk in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory. On May 21, 1937 a performance of *Gyulsara* opened the exhibition. In the lobby of the Bolshoi Theatre there

⁴¹¹ "Shakh Senem."

was a display of traditional costumes, skilfully embroidered with gold and silk, mock theatrical productions, portraits of artists and writers.

The dancing in *Gyulsara* thrilled the audience and they demanded encores from the dancers. The novelty of Uzbek culture captivated the Moscow audience. Glière's colleague Nikolai Myaskovsky was asked to share his impressions. After a few days an article by Myaskovsky appeared in the newspaper *Pravda vostoka*, where he described *Gyulsara* as 'fun and colourful,' pointed out the freshness and novelty of musical tunes, and stressed that the composer processed the musical material, not as an ethnographer, and more freely used folk national motifs, creating a bright work. Glière was awarded the title People's Artist of Uzbek SSR.⁴¹²

Leyli and Majnun

In connection with the forthcoming 500th anniversary of Uzbek poet Alisher Navoi (1441 – 1501), in 1941 it was decided to produce an opera based on his poem *Leyli and Majnun*. The poem was based on an Arab legend similar to the *Romeo and Juliet* story of forbidden love.

In 1933, composer Talib Sadykov and dramatist Khurshid turned the play into a musical drama, using familiar folk tunes that made the performance even more popular.

Sadykov requested Glière to collaborate with him on the project. Glière decided to take Sadykov's melodic material as a basis for the opera. Glière had to add much music so he used a number of melodies from the Bukhara and Fergana-Tashkent mugham cycles and introduced well known Uzbek singers. Glière's primary task was harmonising and

⁴¹² Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* pp. 146-149.

orchestrating. He stressed: 'The melodic material of arias, ensembles, choirs and dance is almost entirely the original creative material of Sadykov and maintained in a genuine Uzbek folk style.'⁴¹³ Glière created a score with an overture, arias, vocal ensembles, polyphonic choruses, colourful dance scenes, a stage battle and a funeral march but did not include Uzbek folk instruments. The premiere of the opera was held on 18 July 1940 in Tashkent, conducted by Sadykov. To honour his work on the opera the Uzbek government named the children's music school in Tashkent, after the name of Reinhold Glière (as it remains), by decree on July 21, 1940. The newspaper *Pravda vostoka* (July 22, 1940) in an editorial entitled 'New victory of Uzbek art' wrote:

In the last few years, Uzbek art has gone a truly fabulous way. More recently, the current opera house was a semi-musical-ethnographic ensemble. Unison music, with an orchestra of eastern instruments, sounding faintly in a large theatre – those are the elements that characterized the old art of Uzbek music and hindered its development.⁴¹⁴

Ferghana Holiday Overture

The overture *Fergana Holiday* was composed to celebrate - the building of an irrigation canal in the Fergana Valley. In the summer of 1940 Glière visited the project. The overture begins with trombones and tuba, imitating the sound of the *karnay* a traditional Uzbek trumpet. The composer quotes the melody of a popular wedding Uzbek song 'Flower in the Meadow', a lyrical melody from the Pamir mountains and finally an Uzbek love song. After receiving a proposal to compose a piece for the 50th anniversary of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Glière decided that *Fergana Holiday* 'would be a good gift - let them across the

⁴¹³ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 159.

⁴¹⁴ Reinhold Moritsevich Glière p. 160.

ocean marvel at the unfamiliar tunes that once again proves the rich and diverse culture of our country.’ He dedicated the score to the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and German conductor Dr. Frederick Stock. Stock was one of the most active promoters of Russian and Soviet music who commissioned Myaskovsky’s Symphony no. 21 in 1940 and performed several other symphonies of Myaskovsky. The premiere of *Fergana Holiday* on March 20, 1941 was conducted by Stock in Chicago. The review of the *Chicago Tribune* was highly favourable:

Those first performances anywhere, in which this golden jubilee season is so rich, were added to last night by the première of a Fete Ferganaise by Reinhold Glière. The piece is a brilliant and attractive trifle which will be useful in coming seasons as a staple of, the repertoire —something which cannot not be said of all of this year's additions. Fergana, it turns out, is a province of Asiatic Russia, a fact which accounts for the half oriental character of the folklike themes which the new piece utilizes. The orchestration is very full, In fact one listener remarked at the piece's conclusion that it had everything but the kitchen stove.⁴¹⁵

Conclusion

If it is accepted that post colonial theory is relevant to Russian or Soviet music, then Glière’s work in Azerbaijan could not be viewed positively but the question is whether it is fair or even relevant to evaluate the project in such a way. A post colonial view would argue that Glière as a Russian Soviet composer exploited Azeri music, transcribing it so inaccurately that it totally misrepresented the nature of Azeri music.

⁴¹⁵ Edward Barry, 'Weicher Plays Better Than His Audience Hears,' *Chicago Tribune*, March 21 1941.

An opposing Soviet perspective would argue that Glière was carrying out important work in the Caucasus and that the artistic results were impressive, plus it achieved the furtherance of social ideals such as the emancipation of women in Azeri society. Whether or not Azerbaijan wanted an opera based on their national music or not was in the hands of the dominant elites, but there was a far broader range of consultation on the opera than critics seemed to acknowledge. The initial driving force behind *Shakh-Senem* was soprano Shevket Mammadova, not Mustafa Kuliyev, who threw his weight behind the project only when Glière arrived in Azerbaijan.

It is important to make a distinction between the two versions of the opera *Shakh-Senem*. The first in Russian with a libretto by Galperin was not as much a co-operative venture as it should have been. The performers that Glière had written for, especially Mammadova were not available for various reasons and the Russian singers in 1927 were not likely to get much support from an Azeri audience. Language is a crucial factor with opera. An opera's identity is defined by its language, the choice of which affects musical and dramatic characteristics. Czech composer Leoš Janáček (composing music inflected by the Moravian dialect in many of his operas) demonstrated this clearly. This is why the decision to revise the libretto into Azeri was vital for the opera. The other factor – that Mammadova and Bulbul were able to take the starring roles ensured the success of the opera until 1943 (although Kuliyeu was executed in 1938), although since then Azerbaijani cultural history has refused to acknowledge its existence.

Methodology is an issue with writers on the subject of *Shakh-Senem*. It may have been more convenient to adopt a totalitarian top-down approach to the opera's history but this ignored certain realities in the case of Azerbaijan. The performers, particularly Shevket Mammadova, drove the project at first. It was Mammadova's contacts with Glière in Kyiv

that first got the composer interested in Azerbaijan. It was only at a later stage of the opera's development that Kuliyeu became involved. He did not initiate the undertaking and yet employing the totalitarian/post-colonial method without context suggested he did. Bellman believed that the post-colonial approach was mono-dimensional:

...it is post-colonialism itself that needs review and recalibration, given the demonstrable post-Saidian flattening of perspective on Occidental–Oriental interaction. Music criticism based on Orientalist currents is not necessarily wrong, but its applicability is too limited, methodologically and culturally, to be broadly useful.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁶ Bellman, 'Musical Voyages and Their Baggage: Orientalism in Music and Critical Musicology,' p. 434.

Chapter 8

The Ballets of Reinhold Glière

Introduction

In the Soviet era Reinhold Glière was primarily known as the composer of ballets and concerti. He had provided the music for the first ballet to be a major success in the Soviet era – *The Red Poppy* (1927). In contrast, before the 1917 Russian Revolution, Glière had come to prominence as a composer of chamber music, songs and symphonies. His one attempt at ballet in 1912 had been a failure. The three symphonies of Glière included the widely acclaimed and internationally successful Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets* (1912). He completed no further symphonies although he had planned a fourth after the favourable reception of his Third particularly in the United States. Glière's Fourth Symphony remained as a nebulous idea before the hectic activity of his new teaching post in Kyiv and then war and revolution put paid to any symphonic successor to *Ilya Muromets*. When Glière had

composed the Third Symphony his patriotism was high having returned from two years in Berlin. Russia was seeking to rediscover its past glories through art having suffered demoralising military defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1905. The Slavic Nationalism that the symphony exhibits was exactly in keeping with the spirit of the age. Glière's one attempt at ballet before 1917, *Khrizis*, a work of neo-classical symbolism, achieved little popularity in conservative Moscow. As Scriabin discovered Russian symbolism was more popular in Paris than in St Petersburg or Moscow. There were many artistic styles running concurrently in early twentieth century Russia (romanticism, impressionism, nationalism), symbolism influenced by France was only one of them.

Soviet Ballet: Beginnings

After the 1917 October Revolution the Bolsheviks sought to nationalise all cultural assets to establish absolute control. This commenced on 12 July 1918 when the Moscow and Petrograd Conservatories were declared state institutions of higher learning and the nationalisation of the chapel choirs, private music schools, libraries, archives and concert institutions.⁴¹⁷ Influential actor and theatre director Konstantin Stanislavsky commented about the difference in audiences after the two revolutions in 1917:

For some time after the February 1917 Revolution the public in the theatres was mixed; it was poor and rich, intelligent and non-intelligent ... We began to understand that these people came to the theatre not in order to be amused but in order to learn ...⁴¹⁸

After the October Revolution the audiences changed yet again:

⁴¹⁷ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 18.

⁴¹⁸ *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 17.

The doors of our theatre were opened exclusively for the poor people and closed for a time to the intelligentsia. Our performances were free to all who received their tickets from factories and institutions where we sent them... We were forced to teach this new spectator how to sit quietly, how not to talk, how to come into the theatre at the proper time, not to smoke, not to eat nuts in public, not to bring food into the theatre and eat it there, to dress in his best ... at first this was very hard to do ...⁴¹⁹

The positive side was that the proletarian audiences were very responsive and higher culture was now truly accessible to the masses. The repertoire did not change instantly however as revolution and civil war had severely disrupted the performing arts in the Soviet Union. Although opera and ballets were attempted, ballet was much slower than symphony to respond to the cultural vacuum caused by continual war and revolution. The Soviet symphony, pioneered by former Glière pupil Nikolai Myaskovsky, was well established by the end of the 1920s – he had written ten symphonies by then. Myaskovsky's ability to work creatively in the midst of war while serving as a military engineer was remarkable. In the First World War he composed two substantial works - his Fourth and Fifth Symphonies.

Unlike symphonic music opera and ballet were collaborative projects relying on collective consensus between artists and administrators. For over a decade consensus was difficult to achieve because of conflict over revolutionary ideals and the lack of supervisory structures. Often administrators of arts organisations were challenged for not implementing revolutionary agendas but there were major differences to what these were. The result was instability for creative artists and the failure of many attempted projects. After the Civil War, theatrical directors had repeatedly appealed to writers and musicians to create ballets based on a revolutionary theme, but nothing of substance eventuated. The disruptive tactics of

⁴¹⁹ *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 18.

groups such as the RAPM (Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians)⁴²⁰, and the ORK (Organisation of Revolutionary Composers) were undoubtedly responsible for the failure of works of stature to be proposed.

Immediately after the revolution composer and musicologist Boris Asaf'ev had restaged his ballet *Carmagnole* (which was danced to musical themes from the French Revolution) in workers' clubs to piano accompaniment and this became the basis of a later ballet *The Flames of Paris* (1932). The Asaf'ev ballets were more collections of dance tunes rather than through-composed symphonic ballets and lacked the depth and unity present in the ballets that made up the core repertoire. The one work of Asaf'ev which has established itself was a ballet based on Pushkin's *Fountain of Bakhchisarai* (1934) and is still performed by the Mariinsky Theatre. In Leningrad a ballet choreographed by Fyodor Lopukhov, *The Red Hurricane* was staged in the Mariinsky Theatre in 1924 but again this was more of a spectacle rather than a unified ballet. It was not popular with the audience '... the audience began leaving the theatre far before the end of the ballet and it only received two showings.'⁴²¹ The choreographer would later stage Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*, *Renard* and Shostakovich's *Bolt* and *The Limpid Stream*

By 1925 Glière at the age of fifty had written three symphonies, lieder and string chamber music. He had attempted two ballets, *Khrizis* in 1912 and *The Comedians* in 1922 but both had been failures. In the summer of 1912, while in Alupka, Crimea, Glière had worked on *Khrizis*. This ballet was as near as the composer would ever get to collaborating with the

⁴²⁰ Disillusioned by Lenin's New Economic Plan (1921), the RAPM was founded in June 1923 by some Bolshevik musicians who felt that music remained largely unaffected by the revolution.

⁴²¹ Kathryn Cashin, 'Alexander Pushkin's Influence on the Development of Russian Ballet' (Florida State University, 2005), p. 129.

avant garde and the 'silver age' of Russian symbolism. The librettist was N. Milyukov who based the scenario on a novel: *Aphrodite: mœurs antiques* (1896) by French symbolist writer Pierre Louys. Milyukov's ideas were influenced by the free dance movement of Isadora Duncan. *Khrizis* was performed once on 17 November 1912 at the stage of International Theatre in Moscow and was a failure, despite the sumptuous costumes and sets. The exotic setting enabled Glière to indulge in orientalisms à la Rimsky-Korsakov (*Antar*, *Mlada*) and Borodin but there were some passages that perhaps too closely resembled Glazunov and even Rachmaninov. Some early Scriabin features are also present. The composer did not abandon the work and arranged an orchestral suite from *Khrizis* which was conducted by his student Semyon Khalatov in Odessa in 1914. Encouraged by the favourable response, Glière further revised the score in 1918. It was this version that was staged at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1921 (directed by Alexander Gorsky and conductor Yuri Fayer) but it was again unsuccessful. A positive outcome of the venture was the long-lasting partnership forged between conductor Fayer and Glière. Symbolist ballets were not any more popular in 1921 Moscow than they were in 1912. In *Khrizis* Glière's orientalisms do not sound as spontaneous as they became in *Shakh-Senem* or *Red Poppy* when the composer had had an opportunity to immerse himself in the unique sound worlds of Azerbaijan and China. The *poème dansé* form was popular with Diaghilev's Ballet Russes (Diaghilev's choreographer Fokine was influenced by Duncan as well) but often the music became more successful than the choreography. This was the case when in 1912 French composer Paul Dukas composed a short ballet *La Péri* for the Ballet Russes with Vaslav Nijinsky and Natalia Trouhanova in the title roles but Diaghilev cancelled the production. Debussy's *Jeux* which Nijinsky based on a tennis match he saw at Virginia Woolf's house in London was not popular at its premiere in Paris. The ballet which resembled *Khrizis* the most, at least with its Ancient Greek classical scenario, was also a

Ballets Russes project *Daphnis and Chloe*. French composer Maurice Ravel was commissioned to write the music by Diaghilev and Nijinsky and Tamara Karsavina performed the title roles in the first performance in 1912. This production had only two performances but was successfully revived in 1913 - this time to great acclaim.

In 1925 Glière was asked to restore the Charles Pugnî 1844 ballet *La Esmeralda* (based on Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*) for a revival at the Bolshoi Theatre.⁴²² Glière, re-orchestrated the entire score and in collaboration with novice Bolshoi writer Mikhail Kurilko, overhauled the libretto. Ekaterina Geltser danced the title role. The new version of *La Esmeralda* was shown at the Bolshoi Theatre on Feb. 7, 1926 and was very popular. The experience that Glière had gained from the restoration enabled him to compose a successful ballet of his own - something that had eluded him since 1912.

The Red Poppy

The genesis of *The Red Poppy* is complex and often confusing with a myriad of often unreliable sources. Although it is agreed by ballet historian Elizabeth Souritz and Gulinskaya that in the 1925/26 season, the Directorate of the Bolshoi Theatre declared a competition for a new ballet scenario, reports about the outcome vary considerably. Gulinskaya alleged that the dramatists did not submit any scripts to management at all:

In the season of 1925/26 the Bolshoi Theatre management decided to announce a competition for the creation of a ballet. Months passed but none of the dramatists responded. The theatre was waiting for the composers, particularly Glière, to begin

⁴²²*La Esmeralda* was premiered in London and was first staged in Russia in 1849 when Pugnî arrived in St Petersburg. In the winter of 1861, Anton Rubinstein had hired Pugnî to teach composition and counterpoint at the newly established St Petersburg Conservatory.

writing music if a good libretto was produced, and the composers were waiting for the theatre ...⁴²³

This appears not to be the case. Souritz who had access to Russian State archives (TsGALI now RGALI)⁴²⁴ said that in late September 1925 Glière was given a script written by Mikhail Galperin for a ballet entitled *The Daughter of the Port*. At this time Leonid Zhukov who was to choreograph the production commented that the ballet ‘embraces the early days of the French Revolution, when the French outlying districts learn about the fall of the Bastille.’⁴²⁵ Other members of the team included designer Sergei Sokolov and director Valentin Smyshliayev. The premiere of the production was initially to be late January 1926 but was then put back to May. The revised schedule had production work beginning on February 5 with Glière completing the score by February 15. There is no record of these targets being met but there was a meeting on 26 February 1926 when the Bolshoi Theatre directorate called in Tikhomirov, Geltser, Kurilko, Glière and Fayer to discuss the ballet. At the meeting the libretto of *The Daughter of the Port* was rejected on the grounds that it was: ‘insufficiently dynamic, boring in content, and not ready to be transposed into music.’⁴²⁶ A joint proposal by Kurilko, Geltser and Tikhomirov for *The Red Poppy* was presented and this was ‘interesting in terms of content and desirable for production in the Bolshoi Theatre during the present season.’⁴²⁷ Glière agreed to transfer the music from *The Daughter of the Port* to the new ballet. Sokolov was replaced as designer by Kurilko and choreographer Zhukov was replaced by Alexander Shiriayev from Leningrad.

⁴²³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 124.

⁴²⁴ Central State Archives for Literature and Art now Russian State Archives for Literature and Art

⁴²⁵ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 232.

⁴²⁶ *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 232.

⁴²⁷ *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 232.

Mikhail Kurilko's description of events was that although the contest had received no entries, Galperin, the senior writer for the Bolshoi Theatre, proposed a scenario based on a peasant revolt in Spain (rather than France). The Directorate of the Bolshoi had offered to undertake the ballet but was vetoed by the theatre's Arts Council. Kurilko did not specify when this decision was made.⁴²⁸

The Gulinskaya version of the discussion was somewhat different. She failed to mention Galperin's scenario altogether (even though the information would have been available) and stated that at the meeting of the Arts Council of the Bolshoi Theatre the failure of the competition was about to be announced when Kurilko addressed the meeting and proposed a scenario, taking from his pocket the latest issue of the newspaper *Pravda*, and reading a story about the detention of a Soviet cargo ship 'SS Lenin' in a Chinese port.⁴²⁹ The ship which was allegedly bringing rations to Chinese workers had been seized by the port authorities 'as a result of the intrigues and machinations of Anglo-American imperialists.'⁴³⁰ Apparently Kurilko challenged the meeting: 'Why is this not a subject for a libretto?' In the course of the ensuing debate he outlined the prospective scenario. A stenographer at the meeting recorded the story and the Arts Council voted to undertake the project.⁴³¹ This account of the meeting is not contradicted by the archives apart from its failure to mention that a scenario – *The Daughter of the Port* had already been submitted by Galperin for the competition.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 105.

⁴²⁹ Although the original story is difficult to verify, the ship was built in Danzig in 1909 and commissioned as SS Simbirsk and sailed between Vladivostok and Chinese and Japanese ports. In 1923 the ship was renamed SS Lenin.

⁴³⁰ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 124.

⁴³¹ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 124.

⁴³² Gulinskaya casually drew attention to the title 'Daughter of the Port' on page 133 of her biography of Glière but as an early working title for *The Red Poppy* not a different ballet.

Gulinskaya further maintained that Kurilko, whose experience as a theatrical writer was limited to one ballet - *La Esmeralda*, became supposedly overwhelmed by the success of his proposal.⁴³³ He met Bolshoi ballerina Ekaterina Geltser the next day and outlined the plot. She promised him her full support and persuaded him not to abandon the proposal – the implication was that Geltser had not been at the meeting. She offered to collaborate on the ballet. She had toured China in 1915 and recalled her experiences of Harbin and Beijing, where she had visited an old Chinese Theatre and met its actors. She enthusiastically began to tell him about the ancient embroidery, porcelain, bone carving and woodwork that she had seen in China and showed him some of the works of art she had brought back from her visit. She also described the costumes, and imitated the posture, bowing, moving around the room with small steps, characteristic to Chinese women of the time. These events undoubtedly took place but they would have occurred before the meeting on February 26. Although the accounts of Gulinskaya, Kurilko and Geltser suggested that the adoption of *The Red Poppy* scenario was spontaneous, it seems more than coincidence that Kurilko would produce a *Pravda* article on China at the Arts Council meeting without being aware of the famous ballerina's experiences in China. Furthermore she was at the meeting on February 26 as detailed in the archives. As this was the meeting when *The Red Poppy* was adopted, Geltser must have helped Kurilko on the Chinese scenario before the meeting. An additional influence suggested by Souritz was the Meyerhold Theatre production of Sergei Tretyakov's *Roar, China!* in February 1926.⁴³⁴ Other theatrical productions with a Chinese theme performed in Moscow were: Emile Fabre's *Locusts*, Klabund's *Kreiderkreis* (which Glière

⁴³³ He was in fact head of design at the Bolshoi Theatre from 1924-1928.

⁴³⁴ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 243.

had composed music for in 1924) and the adapted Chinese folktale *The Yellow Jacket* by Joseph Benrimo and George Hazelton (staged by the Moscow Free Theatre in 1913).

The creators of *The Red Poppy* wished to give the impression of spontaneity and unanimous agreement: ‘The performance was prepared in an atmosphere of friendly collaboration of the authors and stage crews with keen interest shown by the entire collective choreographic theatre.’⁴³⁵ This was not altogether true – Stage Director Alexei Dikiy⁴³⁶ and Tikhomirov had major differences of opinion as Glière commented: ‘The participation of so many collaborators made the work of composing particularly complex, because each one introduced his own ideas ...often failing to coordinate them with the plans of his colleagues for development of the plot.’⁴³⁷

Geltser required Glière to learn the essentials of classical dance. The ballerina showed him the movements, explained the significance of individual elements and their names. Geltser described this process:

During the creation of the ballet *The Red Poppy* he carefully and seriously studied the history and specifics of classical dance. Along with Vasily Dmitrievich Tikhomirov – an outstanding first-rate dancer-actor, highly gifted choreographer and a great connoisseur of choreography, we spent many evenings with Reinhold Moritsevich literally amazed at the interest and the love with which he perfected his knowledge of classical ballet. I acquainted him with all the elements that make up classical dance, showing the shape, pattern of movements, explaining their meaning and their names.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), p. 110.

⁴³⁶ Dikiy (1889-1955) was born in Ukraine. When he was hired for *The Red Poppy* he was an actor with the Moscow Art Theatre. He later worked with Shostakovich on the opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* and played the role of Stalin in several films.

⁴³⁷ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 234.

⁴³⁸ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 115.

The composer also had to study Chinese music and search for themes to create an image of the Chinese heroine and the other main characters. Glière also collected folk and revolutionary songs from the many Chinese studying at the Communist University of the East, where he directed a choir. Both Geltser and Kurilko admitted that they had high expectations of the composer and that he had to work in an atmosphere of intense pressure. Geltser implied how difficult she (and her husband Tikhomirov) was to work with:

Sometimes I was tyrannically demanding with anything that related to the stage, even when tormented by remorse. Reinhold Moritsevich, with his patience and tact bravely endured my despotism and, as he later said, that it was a great help and he even enjoyed it... He loved to consult with us and at the same time demanded the harshest criticism.⁴³⁹

Kurilko also hinted how much pressure the composer was under continually to produce music: ‘Glière worked selflessly, with enthusiasm. When Ekaterina and I made him requests, he listened patiently and the next day he always brought music.’⁴⁴⁰ It appears that both Geltser and Kurilko understated their demands on the composer:

Glière could not keep up with the choreographers. Literally on the run, while the authors were refining the details of the scenario. He was composing the music, often making use of his old works, putting into *The Red Poppy* not only music from *The Daughter of the Port* but also some of his earlier ballet *Khrizis*.⁴⁴¹

Subsequently Glière’s 1906 Prelude in E flat minor (Op 26 no. 20) for piano was used for No. 24 ‘the Anguish of Tao Hoa’ in Act 2, and the earlier Romance for violin and piano (1902) was employed for the Adagio of the Phoenix (No. 30) at Geltser’s request (against the composer’s reservations about having a divertissement in Act 2). Also in the second act there

⁴³⁹ Reynold Moritsevich Glière : *Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 117.

⁴⁴⁰ Reynold Moritsevich Glière : *Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 107.

⁴⁴¹ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 236.

are numbers that are stylistically akin to the Scriabinesque *Khrizis*⁴⁴² particularly No. 26 'Dreams and Visions of Tao Hoa'. In Act 3 the 1904 *Romance* Op. 16 No. 2 and 1905 *Chagrin* Op. 21 No. 3 were utilised for numbers 56 ('Tao Hoa with the captain') and 62 ('Departure of the ship'). This may have explained some of the musical inconsistencies between Act 1 (which did not include earlier instrumental pieces by Glière) and Acts 2 and 3. Geltser praised the efforts of Glière in providing music for the ballet:

The role of Tao Hoa was not only very difficult to dance, but extremely difficult to act. We had to portray a doll-like woman - the submissive slave of villain Li Shan Fu - developing to become a heroine. To overcome these difficulties I was greatly helped by Glière with music that sounded remarkably fresh and bright, with increasing expressive power, melodic richness, great theme development, unique original orchestration, the continuous injection of emotional stress.⁴⁴³

The composer seemed somewhat hampered by Geltser's demands whereas the most successful number, the Soviet Sailors' Dance, did not involve the ballerina and was choreographed by Lev Lashchilin. There were many claims about who suggested the song 'Yablochko' for the dance. Kurilko explained his version of the origins of the Sailors' Dance:

At the end of the first act we had to write a dance of Soviet sailors, and the finale act reveals its dramatic content, and in this dance to reveal an image of the entire Soviet people - courageous and proud. Reinhold Moritsevich wrote the music for the dance. It was user friendly and beautiful. It was positive. Still, I was not satisfied with it.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Especially Scriabin's *The Poem of Ecstasy* (1908) which also influenced Stravinsky's *Firebird* (1910).

⁴⁴³ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 111.

⁴⁴⁴ *Reynold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 107.

Glière based his first attempt on the folksong ‘Hey you Van’ka, bend and bow’ but Kurilko was not convinced by this setting because ‘it did not convey the contemporary breath of today.’ Kurilko related further:

Glière was not offended by my ‘interference’ and asked me to explain. I began to recall the song of Black Sea sailors, which I heard on a train coming back from Odessa, and sang it with words that were not appropriate. The words of the song offended Reinhold Moritsevich. He collected his music and left, and then I had an unpleasant conversation with conductor Fayer and the theatre director.⁴⁴⁵

The sailors’ song was ‘Yablochko’ a *chastushka* - a folk song using rhyming couplets - often vulgar - which would have accounted for Glière’s adverse reaction to Kurilko’s singing.

Next day I went to the house of Glière with sincere apologies. Reyngold Moritsevich met me as always, graciously. When I saw that he was in a good mood I decided to ask him to transcribe for me personally - for the memory - the dance of the sailors on the theme of ‘my song.’ Glière sat at the piano. This time I sang him the motif without words. He burst out laughing and smiling cheerfully, said: ‘It could be very funny.’ Thus was born the sailors’ dance – ‘Yablochko’⁴⁴⁶

Kurilko’s account of the origin of the Sailors’ Dance may not be altogether true. Musical director Fayer and co-choreographer Laschilin also claimed individual credit for ‘Yablochko’. Asaf Messerer, who danced in the production, believed that Dikiy had suggested the song as he had used it in a previous drama production of Evgeny Zamyatin’s *The Flea* (1925).⁴⁴⁷

While Glière and Tikhomirov were working on Act 2 in Kislovodsk,⁴⁴⁸ Dikiy received a telegram from the Bolshoi directorate to create a scenario ‘at least for the first act.’ He was

⁴⁴⁵ Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : *Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 107.

⁴⁴⁶ Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : *Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 pp. 107-108.

⁴⁴⁷ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 237.

⁴⁴⁸ A spa town in southern Russia

also asked to assume general direction of the ballet and assured that the choreographer would be answerable to him.⁴⁴⁹ This did not happen. Tikhomirov (and Geltser) were such a dominant force at the Bolshoi that the younger director was not able to gain control over the second act and Geltser's other scenes in the ballet. In effect it was Geltser who had the last word and overall control of the ballet. As Kurilko related:

Often at the rehearsal of a scene Geltser suddenly said: 'That is impossible to express in a ballet, it will not come!' When Geltser used to say that, it was the law for me the librettist and for the art director, composer and stage director. This meant that we should look again and seek new expressiveness and authentic clarity.⁴⁵⁰

Dikiy was responsible for corrections in the script and the overall direction of the ballet as confirmed by Glière and dancer Maria Gorshkova.⁴⁵¹ Although the director could work with Laschilin he was continually at odds with Tikhomirov – in October 1926 he requested that his name be removed from the credits of the production, in November he refused to sign the minutes of a production meeting yet in December he signed a new contract to direct *The Red Poppy* hoping to increase his authority. In March 1927 the Arts Council of the Bolshoi Theatre opted to release Dikiy from his contract acting on a statement by Tikhomirov that the director 'up to now in fact has not participated in the staging of the ballet'.⁴⁵² Whether the dismissal of Dikiy stirred up the modernist factions in the Bolshoi or (as Kurilko and Gulinskaya described) a change of management occurred, *The Red Poppy* was put on notice. Kurilko described what happened:

By this time there was new management of the Bolshoi Theatre, and the attitude to the new ballet dramatically changed. The ballet was held back. The company was busy

⁴⁴⁹ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 235.

⁴⁵⁰ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 106.

⁴⁵¹ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 235.

⁴⁵² *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 236.

rehearsing for the opera *The Love for Three Oranges*,⁴⁵³ and yet in the new ballet we had only staged the first act! We had to conduct rehearsals anywhere.⁴⁵⁴

Kurilko implied that work was still proceeding on the ballet but it had lost priority to the Prokofiev opera. Gulinskaya was more dramatic and somewhat conspiratorial in tone:

Stage rehearsals were in full swing when a change of direction occurred at the Bolshoi. Opponents of the nascent ballet, who believed that life events could not be transferred to the stage and that the Russian Sailors' Dance 'Yablochko' defiled the walls of the temple of art, were able to influence the new leadership, and work on the *Red Poppy* was suspended.⁴⁵⁵

Whether or not the production was suspended is open to debate. There was certainly no official announcement confirming this although no further rehearsal time or space was given to the ballet. The opposition to 'Yablochko' came from the Bolshoi Theatre orchestra who warned it would not play a 'street song',⁴⁵⁶ but this was not due to a change of management. Gulinskaya's: 'life events transferred to the stage' may well have been referring to western dances such as the Apache, Charleston, and Tango that were employed by Glière to portray the corrupt culture of Shanghai of the 1920s. It was probably the musicians who reacted against playing these as well. It appears that change or no change, the theatre management may well have reacted to the delays and acrimony surrounding the new ballet – particularly the removal of Dikiy. It seems that the supporters of the ballet were required to demonstrate a unity, an *esprit corps* which they had lacked until then. The creators and performers were forced to defend *The Red Poppy*. They hired a journalist Mikhail Amshinky to facilitate meetings in many Moscow factories. Kurilko described the meetings:

⁴⁵³ Prokofiev opera premiered in Chicago 1921. First performed in Russia 1926 (Leningrad).

⁴⁵⁴ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reynhold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 108.

⁴⁵⁵ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 127.

⁴⁵⁶ Souritz and Baner, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 237.

I read the libretto of the ballet *The Red Poppy* and showed sketches of scenery, Reinhold Moritsevich played, and Ekaterina Vasilievna danced and talked to the workers about the ballet. Several young ballet artists led by Lashchilin danced the sailors' dance 'Yablochko'.⁴⁵⁷

Feedback from the factory floor was encouraged and the workers were assured that their comments would be considered in the staging of the ballet. The process was very successful and even before the première, almost the whole 1927-28 season of performances was sold out. *The Red Poppy* première was held on the last day of the season, June 14, 1927. Apparently there was no dress rehearsal. Over the season the ballet was shown more than sixty times; the hundredth performance took place on December 23, 1928. This was unprecedented as there were only eighty performances per season on average at the Bolshoi Theatre.

The reception from the critics was mixed – the majority opinion emphasised the value of the ballet perceiving its strengths and played down its weaknesses describing these as 'growing pains'. The opposing views were negative, 'written in an ironic tone offensively and categorically characterized the work as 'helpless, inept farce,' and as 'agitation, made in the boudoir of a ballerina.'⁴⁵⁸ Sadko (Vladimir Blyum) in *Zhizn' isskustva* 28 June 1927 reserved most of his scorn for Geltser:

Geltser performs the principal role of the actress. From the press we know she has monopolised it, and there is no understudy for the role in *The Red Poppy*... Let us be frank: it is difficult for Geltser to dance these days and her latest roles (in *la Esmeralda* and *The Red Poppy*) are built on gesture and pantomime. Alas she acts like a cinema actress in a bad film! In *The Red Poppy* the acting is all 'on one note': a

⁴⁵⁷ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 108.

⁴⁵⁸ *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : *Articles, Reminiscences, Materials* (1965–7), vol. 2 p. 156.

frozen expression that tells us she feels lost, and a tedious shivering gesture – look it's our friend 'the dying swan' stretched out over several hours and this time representing revolutionary China!⁴⁵⁹

Tikhomirov was also singled out for attention:

The climactic point came when four mighty and bare-chested male dancers flew onto the stage wearing little wings on their backs (!) and began waving their arms about; among them was Tikhomirov himself, with legs like pillars and belly bulging, sporting the same wings and sweet smiles ('a pregnant cherub!' – someone behind me could not contain himself.⁴⁶⁰

The Red Poppy spawned a satirical sub-culture in avant garde theatrical circles. It was lampooned at length by Vladimir Mayakovsky in *The Bathhouse* (1929) and Vsevolod Vishnevsky in *The Last Decisive Battle*. Vishnevsky parodied the ballet in the play's prologue also introducing moments from *Carmen*.⁴⁶¹ The Shostakovich ballet *The Age of Gold* (1930) was also allegedly a parody of *The Red Poppy* with the double irony that its 'decadent' Western foxtrot 'Tea for Two', taken from the Vincent Youmans' Broadway show *No, No, Nanette* (1925), became the most popular number.

It was in reply to the critics that Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, addressed these remarks to the Eighth Congress of the All-Union *Komsomol* in May 1928:

I know that by nine o'clock, the curtain time for *The Red Poppy*, you'll all go. How can this be? Why is this so? You criticised it, wanted to sweep up and throw away everything in the Bolshoi Theatre, but you yourselves are going... Everyone is going to see *The Red Poppy*, yet they criticise the Bolshoi Theatre everywhere and see nothing positive in it. This is not normal. This is hypocrisy. If people are going to the Bolshoi Theatre, then it means that there is something of value there.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹ Marina Frolova-Walker and Jonathan Walker, *Music and Soviet Power, 1917-1932* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 195.

⁴⁶⁰ *Music and Soviet Power, 1917-1932*, p. 196

⁴⁶¹ Souritz and Baner, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 251.

⁴⁶² *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 252.

The scenario of *The Red Poppy* is set in a Chinese port (modelled on Shanghai). Coolies are unloading a Soviet ship on the waterfront next to a bar where exotic Malaysian and Chinese dancers entertain the Europeans. The Chinese tea dancer Tao-Hoa (Chinese for red poppy), is impressed by the Soviet captain's humane actions towards a coolie being beaten by his overseer - Soviet sailors, led by the captain help to unload the ship. Tao Hoa showers the captain with flowers, including a red poppy. She befriends the captain much to the displeasure of her pimp, Li Shan-Fu. Act 1 ends with the Soviet Sailors' Dance. In Act 2 the British harbour master, Sir Hips, fears the influence of the Soviets on the Chinese, and hires Li to kill the captain. The conspirators force Tao-Hoa to invite the captain to a tea house. There Li attempts to stab the Soviet captain but is repulsed. Tao-Hoa witnesses the knife attack, which the Captain repulses, and takes opium to forget the horror of what she has witnessed. She sees visions of giant goldfish, a golden Buddha and phoenixes. The Soviet ship appears in the finale. In Act 3, set at a wealthy Chinese banker's residence, Sir Hips plans to poison the Captain, forcing Tao Hoa to serve the captain but she spills the poisoned tea. In the final scene, the Soviet ship leaves with Tao Hoa watching at the same time as armed coolies begin a revolt. During the chaos, Li fatally shoots Tao-Hoa.

The symbolism of Act 2 was envisaged by Geltser to show that 'the phoenixes embodied the beautiful illusory world of old Chinese culture, which only seems eternal; in reality it would be replaced by the new one. The phoenixes concealed the path to the new from Tao-Hoa.'⁴⁶³

. Gulinskaya was enthusiastic about Act 2:

⁴⁶³ *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 343.

Tikhomirov as choreographer showed exceptional skill in setting this act, in a wide series of movements that characterise Chinese folk dance, and Chinese art. Musically, the 'vision' of Tao-Hoa is a true masterpiece. It drew amazing sounds from the composer as it recreates the finest Chinese paintings with fantastical creatures, flowers and butterflies.⁴⁶⁴

This left her out of step with the great majority of critical opinion. At the time theatrical critic Sergei Gorodetsky had commented: 'One doesn't want to look at living flowers! In 1927! In Moscow! In the first revolutionary ballet!'⁴⁶⁵ Rittikh was also not convinced:

Act 2 – 'In the Opium Den' – is less complete and compact. Its drama is vulnerable, because not all of its parts are subject to the identification of the main idea. The dramaturgical problem of the Act – was the further development of the lyrical themes in the growing love of Tao Hoa for the Soviet captain. Parallel to the action there are interspersed social motives - preparing for the assassination of the captain of the Soviet ship. The music solves these problems better than the scenario.⁴⁶⁶

The Act 2 divertissement (which Glière had opposed) is too long and includes some trite numbers No. 33 'Dance of the Poppies', No. 34 'Variation of the Phoenix', No. 35 'Variation of Tao-Hoa' (featuring a solo xylophone), and No. 36 'Dance of the Chinese Acrobats'. Ironically No. 37 Coda which is a galop in the finest tradition of Glazunov's *Raymonda*, brought out some of the composer's best music but is cut from later productions and some of the other dances moved to Act 3. Souritz commented that the ballet was all about Geltser and Act 2 was her main vehicle:

The Red Poppy was created under the aegis of Geltser for Geltser. Implacably opposed to the innovations of the younger generation, Geltser and Tikhomirov tried to prove that through the canonical forms of the nineteenth-century spectacle one can depict even revolution in China. It was no coincidence that they both considered the

⁴⁶⁴ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 132.

⁴⁶⁵ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 243.

⁴⁶⁶ Mikhail Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière' in *Reynhold Moritseovich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7)], ed. V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-7), vol. 2 p. 152.

most important thing in the ballet ‘The Dream’ in the second act staged by Tikomirov, the very scene criticised by the partisans and opponents of the production.⁴⁶⁷

Kurilko had originally planned to use films, projected slides and illuminated costumes and also to lower large placards between scenes describing the action in the next number which were techniques of agitprop theatre commonly employed by Meyerhold.⁴⁶⁸ These ideas were supplanted by faerie scenes with phoenixes which were seen as anachronistic by the critics but not necessarily so by the audiences.

An example of the juxtaposition of musical styles is No. 32 Grand Adagio (with phoenixes) with Glière’s harmonically sophisticated (and contemporary) use of appoggiaturas over first major then augmented chords to create a post-romantic hyper-nostalgia (Example 8.1) with the somewhat banal xylophone solo that accompanies No. 35 Tao-Hoa’s variation (Example 8.2). The dryness of the chosen instrument leads one to believe that Glière was making a subtle protest about the presence of the divertissement in Act 2 and the dance appears to be a parody of ‘The Sugar Plum Fairy’s variation from *The Nutcracker* (which features the liquid sonority of the celesta).

Ex 8.1 No. 32 Grand Adagio in E major

⁴⁶⁷ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 241.

⁴⁶⁸ *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 243.

Adagio

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Adagio". It consists of two systems of staves. The first system features a violin staff with a complex melodic line characterized by numerous triplet figures and a sustained piano accompaniment. The second system continues the melodic development, with the violin staff showing more triplet figures and the piano accompaniment becoming more active, including a prominent bass line with a long note and a rising melodic fragment.

Ex. 8.2 No. 35 Tao-Hoa's Variation

The image shows a single staff of music in 2/4 time, labeled "Ex. 8.2 No. 35 Tao-Hoa's Variation". The melody is characterized by characteristic leaps of a third, typical of Chinese traditional music. The notes are primarily eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final quarter note.

The most distinctive themes belong to Tao-Hoa – the first pentatonic in nature with characteristic leaps of a third displaying her Chinese traditionalist side.

Ex. 8.3 Tao-Hoa theme 1



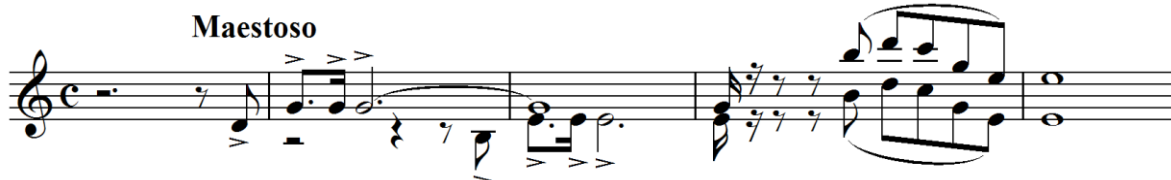
The second theme contrasts with the first in employing primarily step-wise movement and has a sudden harmonic shift characteristic of the composer. The theme is developed throughout the ballet to display Tao-Hoa's revolutionary impulses.

Ex. 8.4 Tao-Hoa theme 2



The Soviet captain is portrayed first in no. 11 by fanfares associated with *The Internationale* the 1888 socialist anthem. This theme is developed further in No.38 'Red Ship' when the Soviet captain and Tao-Hoa's second theme are combined in triumphant fashion to conclude Act 2.

Ex 8.5 Soviet captain No. 11



The only folk source used by Glière in the whole ballet was in No. 21 ‘In the Opium Den’ later renamed ‘Dance of Chinese Women’ which features a popular Chinese theme.

Ex. 8.6 In the Opium Den No. 21



The dark and sinister side of Chinese culture was featured in only one scene – No. 28a Cortège and 28b ‘Dance with swords.’ The similarity of rhythmic and melodic patterns to those of No. 21 is clear.

Ex 8.7 Cortège No. 28a



In Act 3 Scene 1 ‘The Ball of the Chinese Banker’ Western dance music of the 1920s is employed to portray the Chinese capitalists and British colonialists. A spectacular Charleston commences the act. This is punctuated with trombone glissandi to emphasise the satirical role of the dance.

Ex. 8.8 Charleston No. 40



This is followed by a tango No. 42 where Tao-Hoa entices the Soviet captain. Probably for dramatic and musical reasons this dance was dropped in later revisions of the ballet.

Ex 8.9 Dance of the Golden Plate No. 42



A lengthy Chinese Theatre divertissement (substantially cut in later revisions) follows the tango ending with the first statement of a Boston Waltz.

Ex 8.10 Valse-Boston Nos. 54 & 57



Between the two waltz statements is a scene where Tao-Hoa sees the conspirators put poison in the cup which she is forced to give to the captain. She spills the contents before he receives it. This is the dénouement of the whole ballet when the heroine chooses the Soviet captain over her corrupt 'manager' and the conspirators.

Following the success of the Bolshoi Theatre performances *The Red Poppy* was staged in all the theatres of the Soviet Union, where there was a ballet company. The experimental collective of the Moscow Ballet took *The Red Poppy* to small towns where it could not otherwise be performed. Glière received invitations from these productions, and when circumstances permitted, went to the premières.

Leningrad did not stage the ballet until 1929. The Leningrad press called it a cheap melodrama and insisted that such a mediocre production should never be staged at Leningrad's State Theatre.⁴⁶⁹ However, *The Red Poppy* was so successful at the box office that Leningrad could not afford to ignore it.⁴⁷⁰ When the decision to stage the ballet was made, Alexander Gauk, the musical director, said to Glière that the State Theatre version would be different from that of Moscow, 'and therefore nine numbers needed to be reworked or re-written. The theatre was in a hurry. 'It would be nice if you temporarily moved here to Leningrad' - wrote Gauk.⁴⁷¹

Production consultants were invited - Sinologist Professor Vasiliev and on drama Ivan Sollertinsky. As in Moscow, the preparation of the performance involved the general public. The spacious hall of the Moscow-Narva Culture House was overcrowded when it held a discussion of *The Red Poppy*, with presentations by Vasiliev, Sollertinsky, and Glière about the music. The Leningrad premiere was held on January 20, 1929. The Leningrad version differed significantly from Moscow's: 'I have made a new musical score, and, moreover, written a number of dances, and scenes that are not present in the Moscow version,' - wrote Glière. These numbers were: Variations in A major, B major, for four soloists, G major,

⁴⁶⁹ St Petersburg's Imperial Mariinsky Theatre was known as GATOB (Gosudarstvenny Akademichesky Teatre Opery i Baleta) between 1920 and 1935. It was renamed in honour of Sergei Kirov from 1935-1992.

⁴⁷⁰ Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 252.

⁴⁷¹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 136.

Danse excentrique, Généraux chinois (danse des enfants), Danse au petit tambour, Girls, Danse américaine, Valse-Boston. Although the staging of F. Lopukhov kept the storyline, many details were altered: 'In the Moscow production there was a marked tendency to intensify the mime scenes, while in Leningrad there was a bold stress on modern dance.'⁴⁷² Glière worked on this new edition for two months. The orchestration of several numbers was weightier. Asaf'ev who was not aware of the Leningrad revisions, wrote to Glière: '... What is it: the sonority of the ballet for me is a big difference from Moscow? Was Gauk better rehearsed, or, when I heard the ballet in Moscow, was I in a vile mood?'⁴⁷³

The Red Poppy became the most popular show in Leningrad, as it was in Moscow. Its popularity with audiences was not always to the ballet's advantage judging by one anecdote: 'when an interviewer asked: How do you like the music of Glière? The reply was: 'I could not hear it - continual applause interfered with my listening.'⁴⁷⁴

It was probably not by coincidence that in early January 1929 the Leningrad GATOB⁴⁷⁵ held its own competition for a new ballet on a revolutionary theme: 'to be based ideally on mass scenes; the possible inclusion of assemblies, demonstrations, fights, station throngs and street crowds was suggested.'⁴⁷⁶ The ballet competition was largely initiated by Sollertinsky who had worked on the Leningrad version of *The Red Poppy*. 'Sollertinsky worked out the competition's conditions and participated intensively in running it in the spring of 1929.'⁴⁷⁷ The competition was won by film director Alexander Ivanovsky with *Dinamiada* which was

⁴⁷² Souritz and Banes, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, p. 245.

⁴⁷³ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 136.

⁴⁷⁴ *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 136.

⁴⁷⁵ State Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet

⁴⁷⁶ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich : A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 60.

⁴⁷⁷ Christina Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin : Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia*, Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), p. 45.

based on a Soviet football team playing a tournament abroad. At the same time the Bolshoi Theatre was producing a very similar ballet with an almost identical plot - *Footbolisty* ['Footballers']. The music was by film composer Viktor Oransky (the choreographer of Acts 1 and 3 of *The Red Poppy*, Lev Laschilin, was involved in the choreographic team led by Igor Moiseyev). Boris Schwarz summed up the ballet's failings:

Musically the positive heroes were characterised by fragments of revolutionary songs, while the bad boys were condemned to jazz music. Unfortunately the jazz seems to have had much more popular appeal. The score, now totally forgotten, also contained some organised noises and 'soulless' machine rhythms, typical of the 1920's.⁴⁷⁸

Meanwhile Shostakovich had been approached to write the music for *Dinamiada* in May 1929 but as with *The Red Poppy* there were many conflicts between the artistic collaborators and the plot was altered several times with a subsequent name change to *The Age of Gold* in September 1929. The première scheduled for January 1930 was delayed until 27 October 1930 primarily due to the difficulty of Shostakovich's music.

Ernst Křenek's *Jonny Spielt Auf!* (1926) had received its Leningrad debut at the Maly Theatre in 1928. The opera mixed jazz idiom with contemporary techniques and was an undoubted influence on Shostakovich but as the composer's confidante Sollertinsky was involved with the Leningrad production of *The Red Poppy*, perhaps Glière's ballet influenced *The Age of Gold* as well. Laurel Fay emphasised the use of appositional techniques in the piece:

Shostakovich based his score on the juxtaposition of two types of music to represent the opposing dramatic poles: music of unhealthy eroticism derived from Western bourgeois culture (foxtrot, tango, cancan and other popular Western salon dances); and music of the Soviet proletariat (marches' pioneer songs, etc.), to emphasize robust physical health and athleticism.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*, p. 74.

⁴⁷⁹ Fay, *Shostakovich : A Life*, p. 60.

This dualism is common in Russian opera commencing with Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*:

It was Glinka who chose to take contemporary demands for local colour to a new level. By having his Russians sing in 2/4 or 4/4 while his Poles danced in 3/4, he made the conflict of the two enemy nations a musical one.⁴⁸⁰

Glinka's second opera, *Ruslan and Ludmilla* Borodin's *Prince Igor* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *The Golden Cockerel* all displayed characteristics of duality.

The former curator of the Shostakovich museum Manashir Yakubov, suggested that *The Red Poppy* served as a model for *The Age of Gold*: '... *The Red Poppy* was recognised as the top Soviet ballet ... and then as a model of the classical ballet of socialist realism.'⁴⁸¹ Indeed the timing of the Glière ballet's Leningrad performances (from January 1929) with the composition of the Shostakovich score (May-October 1929) seems to suggest that the claim has some accuracy. On the hand the ironic and the satirical qualities that Shostakovich imparted to *The Age of Gold* are not present in *The Red Poppy* and the level of dissonance is much lower.

Supposedly Shostakovich criticised Glière's ballet in his purported memoirs:

The Red Poppy staged at the Kirov by Lopukhov, was immensely popular. Glière wasn't a bad fellow but he was a mediocre composer. Yet his ballet stayed on the boards endlessly, for decades.⁴⁸²

The remarks were apocryphal and were unlikely to have been ever made by Shostakovich (and the Leningrad theatre was called GATOB -State Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet-not the Kirov when Lopukhov staged the ballet).

⁴⁸⁰ Marina Frolova-Walker, 'A Ukrainian Tune in Medieval France: Perceptions of Nationalism and Local Color in Russian Opera,' *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 35, no. No. 2 (2011): p. 121.

⁴⁸¹ Manashir Yakubov, 'The Golden Age: The True Story of the Premiere,' in *Shostakovich Studies*, ed. David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 193.

⁴⁸² Volkov, *Testimony : The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*, p. 43.

Meanwhile *The Red Poppy* continued to be performed - Geltser, performed the role of Tao-Hoa for seven years, including the three hundredth performance. Red Poppy cafes appeared in Moscow and other cities, and also in stores – there was Red Poppy candy, soap and perfume. The ballet was performed in Sofia, Breslau, and Bucharest. Russian impresario Sol Hurok, in the United States, wanted Glière to come with a ballet troupe to America and perform *The Red Poppy* but the 1929 Wall Street crash put paid to these plans.

In 1949, the Bolshoi and Kirov theatres decided to commission a new version of *The Red Poppy* to celebrate the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. Glière was asked to revise the score for a third time. Aleksei Yermolayev transferred the action into Kuomintang China of the 1930s. This scene is reminiscent of the kind of assistance that provided by the American bosses to the Chiang Kai-Shek Kuomintang clique. A new character Ma Li-Chen, a young Chinese revolutionary, was inserted into the action. Leonid Lavrovsky the choreographer of the new production commented:

The image of Tao-Hoa got a brand new interpretation different to the original... Our Tao-Hoa is a dancer in Li Shan Fu's Restaurant. She loves Wang Li-Chen and his influence gradually grows into his faithful and reliable assistant in the revolutionary struggle. She sacrifices himself for the sake of Wang Li-Chen, as she is aware of the significance and place in the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people.

The crucial role in creating the new interpretation of Tao Hoa in a new version of the ballet *The Red Poppy* belongs to People's Artist of the USSR Galina Ulanova and S. O. Lepeshinskaya.⁴⁸³

If the 1927 production of *The Red Poppy* seemed melodramatic, then the 1949 version was even more extreme reflecting the anti-Americanism of the Cold War. On the positive side was the dancing of Galina Ulanova. It was this version that a visiting Chinese delegation saw in 1950. Dieter Heinzig covered the incident in some detail:

⁴⁸³ Bogdanov-Berezovskii, *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), vol. 1 p. 176.

The Soviet side also made suggestions to Mao and Zhou for a cultural program, which Wang Jiaxiang tested. Among other things, Vyshinskii suggested to Mao and Zhou that they should see the ballet *The Red Poppy* [Krasnyi mak] which was very popular in Moscow at that time... The ballet told the story of a Soviet marine who met a prostitute in Shanghai, taught her revolutionary ideas, and arranged for, Marxist-Leninism to spread in China. When Wang learned about the content of the ballet, he advised Mao not to attend. Mao shared Wang's opinion that this ballet exhibited great power chauvinism that was offensive to the Chinese people.⁴⁸⁴

If Heinzig's account of the plot was correct, the storyline was considerably more lurid than the original version of 1927. It is unlikely that in this version of *The Red Poppy* Tao-Hoa was a prostitute but evidently the Chinese saw her as such:

To avoid offending the Soviet side, they sent Chen Boda⁴⁸⁵ who with a few others went to the performance that had been offered. It was to be a special performance attended by the famous composer of the ballet, the elderly Reinhold Glière. According to Fedorenko who accompanied Chen this nearly resulted in a scandal. Chen was offended by the way in which Russian dancers were made up to represent the Chinese - including a pimp - in bright yellow paint. They looked like monsters and bogeymen to him. Furthermore, to Chen the title of the ballet was itself offensive to the Chinese because 'poppies were the raw material for opium, which had been the ruin of the Chinese people for centuries'. It was only with great difficulty that Fedorenko was able to keep the Chinese from leaving early. Following the incident, *The Red Poppy* was temporarily removed from the schedule and was given a new title, *The Red Flower*.⁴⁸⁶

As a result of the Chinese diplomatic pressure Glière made a third revision of *The Red Poppy* to show even more the impressively active, heroic people's role in the development of the plot. New dances and additional numbers were added to expand the ballet from eight to twelve scenes and the name was changed to *The Red Flower*. The première was held at the Bolshoi Theatre after the composer's death, November 24, 1957. It was also possible that

⁴⁸⁴ Heinzig, *The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950 : The Arduous Road to the Alliance*, p. 363.

⁴⁸⁵ One of the instigators of the Chinese Cultural Revolution 1966-1976.

⁴⁸⁶ Heinzig, *The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950 : The Arduous Road to the Alliance*, p. 364.

Glière did not entirely approve of the 1949 revision of his ballet and took the opportunity to reinstate some of the music that had been cut.

After a hiatus of some fifty years, *The Red Poppy* was restaged in a third revision by the Teatro dell'Opera di Roma in 2010. At the instigation of Italian ballerina Carla Fracci her husband Beppe Megatti directed the production with choreographer Nikolai Androsov and conductor Andrei Anichanov. The full score of Act 3 had been lost in a fire at the Bolshoi Theatre so Francesco Sodini made a new orchestration of the act from a piano score provided by the Glière family. There was no record of the choreography of 1927 by Lev Lashchilin and Vasily Tikhomirov; only short fragments of Leonid Lavrovsky's 1949 version. Nikolai Andropov created new choreography freely inspired by the style of the Soviet era. The choreographer made cuts in the third act by eliminating the Chinese Theatre, believing that it was superfluous to the ballet.

Following the Roman revival, a new version was premiered in Krasnoyarsk on 23 November 2010 commemorating the 100th anniversary of ballerina Galina Ulanova. The artistic director and choreographer was Vladimir Vasiliev and the conductor was Anatoly Cherpunoy. The ballet was part of the First All Russia Ballet Forum held in Krasnoyarsk. Voice of Russia described how the ballet was altered for the 21st century:

Before *The Red Poppy* ballet was re-staged in Krasnoyarsk, its libretto was radically changed: now it is a story about love and aspirations for freedom in the broad sense of the word. This is an eternal topic, which has attracted the attention of not only people in Russia but also in other countries.⁴⁸⁷

Recordings

⁴⁸⁷ Anon, '*The Red Poppy* Is Blooming Again,' (Moscow: Voice of Russia, 2010).

The suite from *The Red Poppy* has been widely recorded. It consists of six numbers. Included are: 'Heroic Coolie Dance', 'Scene and Dance with Golden Fingers', 'Chinese Dance', 'Phoenix', Valse Boston, and the Russian Sailors' Dance. In 1963 the original musical director of the 1927 production Yuri Fayer, recorded an extended suite of highlights with the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra which added several additional numbers. The 1995 Naxos recording with Andrei Anichanov conducting the St Petersburg State Orchestra (the city's fourth ranked orchestra behind the Mariinsky, St Petersburg Philharmonic and St Petersburg Academic Symphony Orchestra) claims to be a recording of the full ballet but it includes only 36 numbers (compared with the 66 of the original 1927 score). As the shortest version was that of 1949 which had eight scenes, presumably this was the version used for the recording although this is not specified.⁴⁸⁸

Summing up opinion after 1960, Mikhail Rittikh gave a well-balanced perspective noting that Glière had written four ballets before he achieved success:

Recall that prior to this Glière was found weak in this specific genre. *The Red Poppy* - was the fifth musical-choreographic composition of Glière. At the same time, this is the first of his great ballets, made on the basis of the classical tradition. In his score there is penetration in specific forms of dance music, and implementation of their identity.

The music of *The Red Poppy* is dancing with a vengeance. And this is one of the most important and valuable of its properties. There is free and good use of a variety of classical ballet composer forms - variations, adagio, and scenes of pantomime character.⁴⁸⁹

Recent American ballet writers have not been well disposed towards *The Red Poppy* with John Ardoin in his history of the Kirov Theatre adding to the mysteries of the origin of the

⁴⁸⁸ In this recording the 'Malaysian Dance' is referred to as 'Malik's Dance'.

⁴⁸⁹ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière' p. 154.

ballet's libretto by claiming that the murder of the Soviet consul in Canton (December 16 1927), an event that occurred after the première in Moscow, influenced the storyline:

One of Lopukhov's more enduring contributions to the theater was his joint choreography with Vladimir Ponomarev and Leontiev for Glière's *The Red Poppy* in Leningrad (the ballet had premiered at the Bolshoi in 1927; Leningrad's version came two years later). The work set out to comply with a demand from the government to make art serve the purpose of educating the people and dance more accessible. Its libretto was topical, stemming from the murder of the Soviet consul in China (the setting for the ballet) and that of a consul in Poland. The ballet took these real-life events and romanticized them as an affair between a Chinese girl and a Soviet ship captain. She is ordered to murder him, but instead love makes her take the bullet intended for the captain. The ballet came complete with an opium dream sequence that included a Golden Buddha and a swarm of butterflies, birds, and dancing flowers. Its mixture of revolutionary and stock ballet clichés was put in perspective by the composer Alexander Tcherepnin: You don't make a statue of a Red Army officer out of whipped cream.⁴⁹⁰

Jennifer Homans credited the whole of *The Red Poppy*'s choreography to Tikhomirov:

In 1927 he created the Red Poppy, a watery agitprop ballet that pitted 'good' Chinese Communists against 'bad' (Charlestoning and foxtrotting) Chinese and Western imperialists; it included an opium dream with giant goldfish and Buddhas who showed the way to a better world, accompanied by butterflies and birds.⁴⁹¹

Homans also repeated Alexander Tcherepnin's quip: 'You don't make a statue of a Red Army officer out of whipped cream' but attributed the remark to 'a leftist critic' which Alexander Tcherepnin was decidedly not, being in fact a White Russian émigré. It is unlikely that Alexander Tcherepnin (1899-1977) ever saw a production of *The Red Poppy* - having left Russia in 1917 and yet he is often quoted as if he was an authority on the ballet. Alexander's father Nikolai (1877-1945) was a contemporary of Glière, in the Belyaev Circle and even conducted the première of Glière's First Symphony in 1904.

⁴⁹⁰ John Ardoin, *Valery Gergiev and the Kirov : A Story of Survival* (Portland, Or.: Amadeus Press, 2001), p. 184.

⁴⁹¹ Jennifer Homans, *Apollo's Angels : A History of Ballet* (New York: Random House, 2010), p.349.

Kathryn Cashin provided a more nuanced assessment of the ballet:

The Red Poppy was important to the progress of Russian ballet because it brought ballet in Russia to its next stage of development: the dramatic ballets of the 1930s. It was prominent in the history of the Russian ballet because it was the first successful attempt to render a modern theme (the evils of imperial colonization) on a Soviet ballet stage. Furthermore, it proved to be extremely popular and was performed one hundred times by December 23, 1928). However, its popularity declined and it was removed from the Bolshoi's repertoire in 1960.⁴⁹²

The Red Poppy may have been a very different ballet, more to the critics' satisfaction, if the intentions of the progressive Dikiy had not been obstructed by Tikhomirov and Geltser. On the other hand success was due at least in part to the star quality of the prima ballerina and furthermore the tastes of the factory workers of the Soviet Union were undoubtedly more conservative than those of the intelligentsia who criticised the production. If the modernist faction had taken precedence during the preparation of *The Red Poppy* the ballet may have satisfied the critics but ultimately not the public at large. The ballet's first scenario *The Daughter of the Port* seemed to be jettisoned for this reason. Yet the success of the acrobatic 'Yablochko' combined with the pantomime dominated scenes of Geltser, indicated that a mix of elements was fundamental to success on the Soviet ballet stage.

The Red Poppy's mixture of romantic escapism, idealism yet self-identification persuaded audiences to feel more optimistic about the future in spite of the violence and suffering that they had endured since 1914. Despite the tragic death of Tao-Hoa at the end of the ballet a revolution began in China. In this way the work presaged the 1932 policy of socialist realism which was designed to show the happier side of socialism and to actively avoid negative emotions. Arguably this was no different to the modus operandi of the Hollywood film

⁴⁹² Cashin, 'Alexander Pushkin's Influence on the Development of Russian Ballet,' p. 131.

industry which played a large part in reviving the morale of the US after the Great Depression.

The Spanish ballets: *The Comedians*, *The Daughter of Castille*

In 1922 Glière was attracted to the play *Fuenteovejuna* (1619) by the Spanish playwright Lope de Vega. The composer imagined a ballet with a colourful Spanish way of life, bright costumes and the temperamental nature of the characters, the episodes of the popular uprising against the tyranny of feudal lords. It soon became evident that his plan differed sharply with the intention of the librettist A. Petrovsky, to shift the emphasis from revolution and its heroes to episodic characters - comedians. Apparently Glière was not happy with this and stopped working with Petrovsky. Spain gave ballet composers many opportunities for colourful scenarios. The precedent had been set by the Minkus/Petipa production of *Don Quixote* at the Bolshoi Theatre in 1867. Glière's Ballet Suite no. 1 consists of nine numbers from the Spanish ballet.

In January 1931, when the Bolshoi Theatre again requested a new ballet, Glière suggested a revised version of *The Comedians*. This time the librettist Petrovsky was forced to make some alterations, and Glière compromised his stance on the libretto. However, the scene of comedians performing a play by Lope de Vega, introduced by Petrovski in the libretto, was still treated as the centrepiece of the ballet.

The premiere was held on April 5, 1931 at the Bolshoi Theater conducted by Yuri Fayer but was subject to strong criticism. *The Comedians* was removed from the repertoire. Rittikh commented on the significance of the work:

The ballet has long been forgotten. However, the historian of the Soviet Ballet Theatre will not be able to pass by this experiment. And above all, by his irrefutable historical role in the overall evolution of the Soviet musical choreography: imperfect and unfinished work, to embody the image of people's revolutionary struggle, still largely determined the subsequent, more successful experiments in this direction. It is not surprising that after *The Comedians*, new ballets that were dedicated to the revolutionary uprising of the people, *Flames of Paris* by B. Asafiev and *Laurencia* were successful.⁴⁹³

Laurencia (1939) with music composed by Alexander Krein was based on the same subject by Lope de Vega and was choreographed by Georgian dancer Vakhtang Chabukiani who sought to blend folk dance and classical dance. It is still in the repertoire of the Tbilisi Ballet company.

In 1954 Glière worked on a third version of *Fuenteovejuna* with choreographer A Chichinadze and *The Daughter of Castille* as the ballet was renamed, had its first performance on May 28 at the Stanislavski and Nemirovich-Danchenko Moscow Academic Music Theatre.

The Bronze Horseman

The irony of socialist realism was that although tsarist anthems such as *Боже, Царя храни!* were banned - rendering Tchaikovsky favourites such as the *1812 Overture* and *Marche Slave* bereft of their original material,⁴⁹⁴ Peter the Great was largely rehabilitated although the city he built was now named after Lenin. In a similar vein Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar*, under the title *Ivan Susanin*, was appropriated as a propaganda tool for the 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov pact to justify the dismemberment of Poland.

⁴⁹³ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 161.

⁴⁹⁴ Performances of these works substituted the anthem with material from Glinka's *Ivan Susanin* and others.

Before the Soviet Union became involved in the Second World War in 1941 there were plans to celebrate the 150 anniversary of Pushkin's birth with a ballet based on the narrative poem *The Bronze Horseman*. Glière was approached by the Kirov Theatre to compose the music based on a libretto by Petr Abolimov. Glière was not enthusiastic at first: 'The high concept and beautiful musical language of Pushkin could not grab me' he recalled.⁴⁹⁵ Other statements were made expressing the composer's doubts: 'The Pushkin plot interests me greatly, but excuse me for my frankness, I can't imagine how a ballet can be made out of the poem *The Bronze Horseman*'⁴⁹⁶ He soon put these doubts aside and started work on the ballet before the libretto was finished.

In 1926 Nikolai Myaskovsky had composed a symphony based on *The Bronze Horseman*. His Tenth Symphony was inspired by an Alexandre Benois painting of the Bronze Horseman in pursuit of the unfortunate Evgeny. The F minor symphony is in one movement of 17 minutes. There was little of St Petersburg's grandeur in its music:

While carefully following Pushkin's story in the composition of this symphony, Myaskovsky did not make it a programme piece in the strict sense of the term. He entirely omits the scene of the flood in St Petersburg and in general shuns all pictorial elements. The symphony has a different aim – that of representing a psychological study of its heroes.⁴⁹⁷

The nature of this symphony which verges on atonality at times has been termed as 'morbid expressionism' and its 'conception of individualistic pessimism'⁴⁹⁸ There is a striking similarity between the timbre and contours of Myaskovsky's Parasha theme and Glière's Parasha. Both employ a solo oboe for the theme and both outline a major sixth

⁴⁹⁵ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* p. 182.

⁴⁹⁶ Catherine Nepomnyashchy, 'A Note on Glière's Ballet *the Bronze Horseman*,' in *Depictions*, ed. Douglas M. Greenfield (Dana Point: Ardis, 2000), p. 61.

⁴⁹⁷ Aleksei A. Ikonnikov, *Myaskovsky: His Life and Work* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), p. 46.

⁴⁹⁸ Oxford Music Online 12.04pm 11/3/13

followed by descending melodic movement. The first four notes are identical to each other if the Myaskovsky theme is transposed up a third. Then Myaskovsky uses a further six notes from the chromatic scale (G, A flat, F, B flat, G, B flat, D flat) and although the notes F sharp and B are not present in the melody, these notes are prominent in the bassoon part which forms a dissonant pedal beneath the solo oboe (Ex. 9.13) Gregor Tassie believes that the composer utilised his own dodecaphonic system for each theme in this symphony.⁴⁹⁹ The Glière melody is predominantly in F minor.

Ex 8.13 Myaskovsky Symphony No. 10 Parasha

14

Ob.

Fg.

Bass Clarinet

Vln. 2

Vla.

⁴⁹⁹ Gregor Tassie, *Nikolay Myaskovsky : The Conscience of Russian Music* (Rowman & Littlefield), p. 146.

Ex 8.14 Glière: *The Bronze Horseman* Parasha



Plate 8.1 The Bronze Horseman painting by Alexandre Benois 1904



In June 1941 Abolimov finished writing the draft libretto and on June 18, he read it to the assembled ballet company of the Kirov Theatre. Three days later Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and the Kirov Theatre was evacuated to Perm in the Urals. There is some debate when Glière started to compose the ballet. Mikhail Rittikh maintained that Glière had written the ballet during the war:

The press has repeatedly reported that the work on the composition Glière's *The Bronze Horseman* was composed over a year and a half - in 1947-1948. The archive of the composer refutes this information. A substantial part of the archives in the ballet is several folders with hundreds of rough sketches on sheets of music paper. Their content is different. They are recorded only on one subject, sometimes even without harmonization, some - an outline of the future form or designation of the principles of the material. Sometimes the composer specifies which actor, face, image, scene or a number is musically blank. In some cases, on the back of the sheet is fixed an almost finished draft fragment of the whole number. And on all the sheets, with few exceptions, is marked the year of creation of the fragment. They were all composed during the last military autumn and early winter of 1944.⁵⁰⁰

Gulinskaya believed that Glière had started work even earlier i.e. before the war:

Judging from the rough drafts (and those in the composer's archive multiple folders), work on the embodiment in music of images of the poem Glière began before the war, even without the libretto ... In autumn 1944 in a burst of inspiration Glière composed almost the whole thematic material of the future work.⁵⁰¹

In 1946 Abolimov returned to the libretto and completed it, after which Glière received a formal offer to write the music from the Kirov Theatre and a copy of Abolimov's finished libretto. Then choreographer Rostislav Zakharov (who had choreographed Prokofiev's *Cinderella* in 1945) worked on a comprehensive dance scheme before Glière composed any further music. As he described it:

⁵⁰⁰ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 162.

⁵⁰¹ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 183.

The compositional plan of *The Bronze Horseman* consisted of forty numbers of projected effective scenes in the dance of the ballet. Each was a detailed description of the action, the length (duration) and the character of the music, as it was envisioned by the choreographer. Musical examples have been added to the plan or alternatively the indication of samples of existing music.⁵⁰²

The painstaking methods of Zakharov were a welcome contrast to the often chaotic and frenetic conditions that had existed during the production of *The Red Poppy*. As Glière later described in *Soviet Artist* magazine:

A detailed plan of the choreography was made by Zakharov, - which was very helpful when composing the music. This method is, I think the most appropriate and productive, as it eliminates mutual resentment, misunderstanding and a lot of rework later in the course of setting.⁵⁰³

In September 1947, guided by this plan, the composer began systematic work on the music of the ballet. With the main thematic material created in 1944, Glière, by March 1948, completed the piano score of the ballet. In January 1948 the event known as *Zhdanovshchina* [the Zhdanov affair] commenced - this had considerable consequences for many of Glière's fellow composers but as Glière was not denounced,⁵⁰⁴ work continued on the ballet. In early 1948, even before the music was finished, Zakharov commenced production of *The Bronze Horseman* in Leningrad, setting the most complex crowd scenes already completed by the composer. He also began work on the ballet at the Bolshoi Theatre, where the production varied slightly to that of Leningrad. Glière meanwhile started to orchestrate the ballet (in which he was assisted by Boris Lyatoshinsky amongst others) and this was completed in February 1949, six weeks before the premiere, held on March 14 at the Kirov Theatre in Leningrad, and on June 27 at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. The conductor in Leningrad

⁵⁰² Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 162.

⁵⁰³ 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 163.

⁵⁰⁴ He did lose the post of president of the Union of Soviet Composers

was E. Dobovsky with Parasha played by Natalia Dudinskaya and Evgeny Konstantin Sergeyev. In Moscow Yuri Fayer conducted with Galina Ulanova and Mikhail Gabovich in the title roles. Zakharov directed both productions. After the premiere in Leningrad, *The Bronze Horseman* was performed throughout the Soviet Union in Yerevan, Tashkent, Lviv, Saratov, Novosibirsk, Alma-Ata, and Odessa. In 1953 a new version was performed in Bucharest. Glière wrote an overture and extra numbers for the young Soviet choreographer Igor Smirnov and travelled to Romania with daughter Nina to see the production.

The dancer who played Evgeny in the first production Konstantin Sergeyev, paid tribute to the composer:

Pushkin and Glière helps us now to perceive the beauty of our city, its ensembles, monuments, its White Nights. For many years every day on the road to the theatre I pass along the Neva embankment past the Bronze Horseman. And every time ... in my memory I hear the Hymn to the Great City.⁵⁰⁵

Gulinskaya described the reception in Leningrad:

Leningraders loved the ballet *The Bronze Horseman*, they loved the music of Glière, glorifying their beautiful city. And visitors who come to Leningrad via Moscow railway station were met by the solemn sounds of Hymn to the Great City.⁵⁰⁶

Another Leningrader, Shostakovich, was apparently not so enamoured:

I shudder every time I get off the Red Arrow Express at the Leningrad Station because Glière's composition blares from every loudspeaker. The travellers duck their heads and walk faster.⁵⁰⁷

If the Shostakovich remarks are taken seriously (and there is considerable doubt about their authenticity) it could be argued that Glière's music was as appropriate for the occasion as

⁵⁰⁵ Gulinskaya, *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 193.

⁵⁰⁶ *Reinhold Moritsevich Glière* p. 193.

⁵⁰⁷ Volkov, *Testimony : The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*, p. 42.

Shostakovich's own Symphony No. 7 *Leningrad* which itself was criticised for its banalities but became an iconic symbol of resistance during the Siege of Leningrad.

The lack of theatrical elements in Pushkin's poem had been a problem for the librettist Abolimov. He had to inject more action into the ballet. Subsequently other sources - some prose works of Pushkin - *A Little House in Kolomna*, *The Blackamoor of Peter the Great* were incorporated. In the ballet Parasha, Evgeny's betrothed, was developed into the female lead role and new characters were introduced: Parasha's mother, Dutch merchants, Queen of the Ball and Ibrahim from *The Blackamoor of Peter the Great*.

The Bronze Horseman was a ballet in four acts with a prologue of three scenes. The prologue described Peter founding the city of St. Petersburg as the new capital: The three scenes of the prologue show him selecting the site, (on the stage there are outlines of the site on the bank of the Neva River, where the city will be founded, and the figure of Peter peering into the distance). Scene 2 Peter is launching ships from the new port and scene 3 holding a ball at the summer palace (based on the Assembly chapter of *The Blackamoor of Peter the Great*).

Act 1 is set in 1824 in Pushkin's era. The scene opens in Senate Square St. Petersburg, overlooking the Admiralty and the monument to Peter (The Bronze Horseman). There is an atmosphere of festivity in the square. A traveling circus performs Columbine and Harlequin before frolicking and dancing children. Marching across the square are soldiers of the Moskovsky Life Guards Regiment with their military band - a march and popular songs of the soldiers 'Nightingale, Nightingale, ptashechka ...' are heard.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸ The scene owes much to the opening of Tchaikovsky's opera *The Queen of Spades* (1890) which is set in St Petersburg's Summer Gardens.

Ex. 8.15 Moskovsky Life Guards' March (No. 17)



Ex. 8.16 'Solovei, Solovei, ptashcheka'



Evgeny arrives in Senate Square looking for his fiancée, Parasha, but she is late and does not arrive to meet him until almost midnight. Evgeny's motif is complex, ardent, impetuous and somewhat melancholic in keeping with his character in the poem:

Both as a citizen of St Petersburg and as a lowly member of the civil service that Peter established, Evgeny is a creature of Peter. As events take their course, he is also his victim. Evgeny's circumstances are straitened, but his aspirations are as modest as his means.⁵⁰⁹

Glière portrays this character with an urgent ascending chromatic motif on violas starting on the lowest C string and with subsequent leaps of a diminished fifth and a minor seventh portraying Evgeny's ardent nature. Parasha's theme is much brighter and begins with a leap of a major sixth followed by primarily descending step movement which in effect is an inversion of Evgeny's theme although less complex in design reflecting Parasha's nature.

⁵⁰⁹ Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin and Michael Basker, *Mednyi Vsadnik / the Bronze Horseman / A.S. Pushkin ; Edited with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography & Vocabulary by Michael Basker*, Russian Texts Series (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2000), p. xxv.

Glière differentiated his main characters by selecting a distinctive instrumentation for each one: Parasha is represented by instruments of a higher tessitura – violins, flute, and oboe. Evgeny is portrayed with darker timbres - violas, cellos, and clarinet. Peter is represented by heavy brass (trumpets, trombones, and tuba). The two dance a duet before Evgeny describes the deeds of Peter the Great to Parasha. There is a tender farewell before the bridges close at midnight.

Ex 8.17 Evgeny (No. 18)



Ex. 8.18 Parasha (No. 19)



Both motifs are subject to considerable development in Act 3.

Act 2 is set in autumn on the island of Vassilevsky where Parasha and her mother live. Parasha's house stands next to a spreading willow tree. Parasha and her girlfriends gather together to play games and sing songs. The music of the act has a pronounced Russian character. The First Khorovod [Round Dance] is followed by 'Dance of the Three Mischievous Girls' which includes balalaika imitations, a solo dance for Parasha, and Dance of Parasha's Mother.

Ex. 8.19 First Khovorod no. 22 and Second Khovorod No. 27



Parasha's mother shows the girls how to dance as 'in the old days.' 'Fortune Telling', is set to music associated with a quintuple time Russian scherzo characteristic of Russian wedding songs⁵¹⁰ The dance has a trio section which features a minor version of Parasha's theme (Ex. 8.21)

The girls read the cards - Parasha draws the black card predicting imminent death. Her companions are frozen with fear then one of them snatches the black card from Parasha's hand and throws it on the ground and the dance is resumed as if nothing had happened.

Ex. 8.20 'Fortune telling' (No. 26)



⁵¹⁰ Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 31.

Ex. 8.22 Meeting (No. 28)



Parasha and Evgeny dream about the future. Evgeny has modest dreams: Parasha, a quiet family life. The girls bring wildflowers, congratulate them and all dance a grand waltz.

Ex. 8.21 'Fortune telling' trio Parasha's theme altered



Then Evgeny arrives at the gate. Hiding behind a tree, he watches the girls dancing the khovorod and admires Parasha but the girlfriends notice Evgeny and flee leaving the lovers alone.

Ex. 8.23 Coda – Waltz (No. 32)



Heavy clouds gather and Evgeny leaves for home before the Neva bridges are raised.

Evgeny says farewell to Parasha. In 'Premonition' the wind increases with the clouds rushing across the sky quickly and Parasha becomes anxious and begins to regret that she allowed Evgeny to leave in such bad weather. She tries to call him back but it is too late. Glière conjures up a storm combining the themes of Evgeny and Parasha over stabbing triplet accompaniment figures.

This act is perhaps musically the highlight of the ballet with the composer's ability to write lyrical, melodic dances for Parasha and her friends evident. The frequently played *Bronze Horseman* Suite No. 2 is drawn from this act.

Ex. 8.24 Premonition



Act 3 reveals the modest room of Evgeny. He thinks of Parasha and admires the medallion given to him by her. Outside the window are gale force winds and heavy rain. Evgeny is troubled. The storm is grows fiercer and the window swings open. From the distance cannon sound the flood warning. Evgeny is concerned for the fate of Parasha. He throws on his coat and runs out of the room.

On Senate Square crowds of curious onlookers on the waterfront watch the flooding Neva. The river overflows its banks. In terror and confusion the people scatter. The square is now empty. Evgeny runs in. The water rises higher and higher. Eugene climbs on to a marble lion in front of a building. Overturned booths, fences, logs float past him. Fishermen are saving drowning people. . Evgeny looks towards the island where he left Parasha. Crazy with grief and fear, he rushes to the boat, hoping to cross the raging river Neva.

Act 4: the storm has subsided and River Neva has returned to its banks. The island of Vassilevsky is devastated. Anxiously Eugene looks for Parasha's house but all that is left is the lonely slumped broken willow. In desperation, Eugene covers his face with his hands. He cannot come to terms with the death of Parasha. Madness seizes Evgeny. He sees apparitions of Parasha leading the khovorod and hears the melody of the waltz to which they danced together... Evgeny tries to get closer to Parasha, but the ghost disappears. His dance of despair accelerates and finally he falls exhausted.

Senate Square, after the flood. The city comes to life again. A distraught Evgeny wanders along the promenade and street urchins surrounding him mock his torn coat and dishevelled appearance. Evgeny stops at the monument to Peter the Great, where he had recently met with Parasha. Mad with grief, Evgeny circles the bronze statue. He curses the Tsar for having the audacity to carve a city out of a marsh: «Добро, строитель чудотворный! — Ужо тебе!...»[You builder of grand schemes. You just wait!...]

And in that moment it seemed to Evgeny that the Tsar instantly anger was kindled. Horrified Evgeny runs as if he was being trampled by the Bronze Horseman ... There is no escape ... Life ebbs from Evgeny. He is dying. Although Evgeny is dying, the city - Peter's creation - grows and lives. With Senate Square alive again, the 'Hymn to the Great City' resounds again.

Ex. 8.25 Apotheosis: Hymn to the Great City (No. 47)



Despite the tragic ending – the demise of Evgeny and Parasha – Glière's music never approaches the expressionistic brutality of Myaskovsky's Tenth Symphony. It may cast dark shadows but even at its most intense there is always an aura of lyrical nostalgia which softens the focus on the tragedy.

In discussing *The Bronze Horseman's* failure to survive in the repertoire of even the St Petersburg ballet companies Cashin speculated:

It seems odd that non-Russian themed ballets such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Cinderella* remained in the repertoires of Russian/Soviet ballet companies while other works choreographed specifically because of their very Russianness were removed. Apparently some important feature or ingredient was missing, such as interesting choreography or enduring theme that made them short-lived.

With two different versions of *The Bronze Horseman* presented and one, the Bolshoi, being adopted as definitive, it is intriguing that the ballet is not part of the Maryinsky

(Kirov) or Bolshoi repertoires today. By most accounts, if nothing else, the stage effects were brilliant.⁵¹¹

Catherine Nepomnyashchy had a more sinister interpretation of the ballet:

So why was the sesquicentennial of Pushkin's birth, which coincided with Stalin's campaign against 'Cosmopolitanism' and the Leningrad purges designed to reduce the city and the memories of its sufferings to second rank, celebrated with a ballet ostensibly dedicated to Petersburg, a ballet for which Glière won the State Prize in 1950? Perhaps it is not too whimsical to suggest that the fate of the concluding music to the ballet, 'The Hymn to a Great City,' suggests a further answer. Adopted as the unofficial anthem of Leningrad, the music was played *ad nauseam* in public parks and played in the Leningrad train station on the arrival of the Red Arrow express from Moscow. I would suggest, then, that the ballet, like its concluding hymn, rendered the trials and heroism in the war and perhaps even the risky cultural foreignness of Leningrad banal, adapting and thereby reabsorbing them into an ordered and therefore acceptable national narrative which left the centre, Moscow and Stalin (synonymous with the state), safely in place with Leningrad, like Muradeli's Georgia, relegated to the periphery.⁵¹²

. One cannot concur with Nepomnyashchy that Glière's music is banal. Any banality which occurred was undoubtedly a result of over exposure of the finale being broadcast at train stations and parks. If Tchaikovsky's *Sleeping Beauty* apotheosis had been given similar treatment, it too would have been regarded in a similar way. To suggest that Glière was a pawn in a plan to undermine Leningrad is mischievous. The work for *The Bronze Horseman* was well under way when Zhdanov's campaign started in January 1948. Meri Herrala commented on the tendency to exaggerate the power of Stalin:

Even though Stalin had a great role in decision making it does not mean that his opinions influenced practical aspects of music. Leonid Maksimenkov argues that

⁵¹¹ Cashin, 'Alexander Pushkin's Influence on the Development of Russian Ballet,' p. 147.

⁵¹² Nepomnyashchy, 'A Note on Glière's Ballet *the Bronze Horseman*,' p. 69.

Stalin's ultimate participation in music policy was unambiguous in many cases but states that it is another matter entirely to see a clear Stalinist plan in everything.⁵¹³

'Muradeli's Georgia' was referring to the ill-fated opera *The Great Friendship* which appeared to ignite the Zhdanov campaign in 1948 when Stalin visited the opera. Rittikh believed that the ameliorative qualities of music – particularly Glière's music softened the image of the state. This lessened the likelihood of Petrine power being identified with Stalinism:

The authors of the libretto and choreography certainly sought to glorify the acts of Peter. Yet this figure in the ballet receded into the background. If, despite this, the play became a patriotic anthem, praising the greatness of Russian history, the power of the Russian state, the implementation of such a problem was helped by music with its enormous capacity for symphonic synthesis. It enriched the content of scenario and choreography of the ballet and to a large extent it was closer to the spirit and character of the literary source. The role of music in this is unusual and on the content and the structure of the ballet is extremely high.⁵¹⁴

Apart from Pushkin, balletically and musically Tchaikovsky is a major influence. *The Bronze Horseman* conveys much of the same tragic atmosphere as Tchaikovsky's late opera *The Queen of Spades* (1890), also set to a Pushkin story set in St Petersburg. The scene where Parasha draws the death card owes much to the opera (and Pushkin's story). There are also many parallels between *The Sleeping Beauty* (1890) ballet and *The Bronze Horseman* – both have a grand apotheosis with Tchaikovsky setting the French 1590 chanson 'Vive Henri IV' and Glière writing his own 'Hymn to the Great City'.

Conceived during the war, *The Bronze Horseman* of Glière was completed in the year of his seventieth birthday. The ballet was created by an experienced and wise master,

⁵¹³ Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948 Socialist Realism Vs. Western Formalism*. p. 10.

⁵¹⁴ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière' p. 167.

owning the most advanced compositional techniques, many theatrical secrets, specific to the ballet genre and his extensive experience as a symphonist. And as the work was created at the height of the skill of the composer, it had clarity.⁵¹⁵

Glière's music is more classically constrained in *The Bronze Horseman* than the more overtly romantic *Red Poppy* and is more consistent stylistically. The composer had clearer direction from his choreographer Zakharov than had been the case with *The Red Poppy* and was given more time to complete the score. If *The Red Poppy* can be described as Glière's Soviet ballet then *The Bronze Horseman* is his Russian ballet.

The Bronze Horseman was performed as late as the 1980s in the Soviet Union and recently, in 2016, it has been revived by the Mariinsky Theatre and taken back into the repertoire. The original choreography of Rostislav Zakharov has been restored by Yuri Smekalov. Also in 2016 St Petersburg's second theatre, the Mikhailovsky Theatre, developed another ballet *The Bronze Idol* and set it to the music of the *Ilya Muromets* symphony.

Taras Bulba

Glière began to compose the ballet *Taras Bulba* even before the completion and production of *Daughter of Castille*. The proposal came from the Bolshoi Theatre. The first proposal to the composer was categorically rejected. In late 1940, in Leningrad, the Kirov Theatre had staged a ballet by Vasily Soloviev-Sedoi,⁵¹⁶ also based on *Taras Bulba*. Although this work

⁵¹⁵ 'The Ballet Works of Glière' p. 167.

⁵¹⁶ Composer of the 1950s popular song 'Moscow Nights'

soon disappeared from the repertoire, Glière did not consider it possible to begin work on a ballet with an identical plot. However, approaching the anniversary of Gogol's death in 1952, the theatre insisted on its proposal. There was little time before the anniversary. The work required enormous effort from the composer but the work was completed on time.

The ballet was never staged. A temporary entrance pass to the Bolshoi Theatre building, already issued to Glière, so that he could freely visit the rehearsals of *Taras Bulba*, remained unused. On the anniversary of Gogol the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Theatre staged a new ballet version of the Soloviev-Sedoi version, and the Bolshoi Theatre probably did not find it possible to stage an identical work by another composer given financial constraints. Glière's *Taras Bulba* was never choreographed. Since 1948 theatre finances had been cut and perhaps this was the ultimate reason for the non-production of the ballet.

In the ballet Glière employed many authentic Ukrainian and Polish folk songs. He reviewed all of his existing collections of Ukrainian folk songs and a number of Ukrainian and Polish melodies were sent to him by his disciple, the Ukrainian composer Boris Lyatoshinsky. One of these melodies was; *Пряди, моя пряжа* [Spin, My Spinner] which had been used by Glière previously in *The Zaporozhe Cossacks* (1921) and by Tchaikovsky in the second movement of his Symphony No. 2 *Little Russian* (1872).

The music and drama of *Taras Bulba* in its main features is similar to the *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman*. First of all there is a harmonious combination of traditional ballet forms and techniques of symphonic development, unity of dance and symphonic music. There is also a greater effective role in the drama of the ballet for male images, which determines and justifies its specific genre, heroic epic par excellence. Some scenes - for example Act II – 'Zaporizhzhya Sich' – are written for male dancers only.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 182.

Glière's *Taras Bulba* and Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Pan Voyevoda* (1903) have much in common. Both works were written in the last years of their composers, both composers had Polish mothers who had sung Polish folksongs to their sons, and both works languish in semi obscurity. Stephen Muir described the significance of the opera:

Pan Wojewoda occupies a pivotal place in Rimsky-Korsakov's operatic output ... it acts as a final, retrospective glance on behalf of the composer, one last act of self-examination and questioning before the work which forms the high-point of his creative output, *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh and of the Maiden Fevronia* (completed in 1906).⁵¹⁸

Although *Taras Bulba* did not occupy a pivotal place in Glière's works, it was a home-coming of sorts celebrating the Ukrainian culture that had been part of his childhood in Kyiv.

Although *Pan Voyevoda* was an opera, Polish dances such as the Polonaise, Mazurka and *Krakowiak* played a vital part in the work (the main character the Voyevoda, is represented by the polonaise). There is also a Ukrainian *kazachok* at the end of Act III. Coincidentally *Taras Bulba* has Polish dances in its Act III.

Rimsky-Korsakov explained the origins of his Polish opera:

[In the Summer of 1888] I wrote a Mazurka for violin and small orchestra based on Polish themes sung to me by my mother, themes she had heard and remembered from the 1830s when my father was Governor of Volhynia [a Polish province]. I had known these themes since my childhood, and had long been interested in basing some compositions on them.⁵¹⁹

Stephen Muir described how *Pan Voyevoda* failed to remain in the repertoire quoting political rather than aesthetic reasons:

Poland was a sensitive subject for the Russian government at the best of times ...Political events certainly played a major role in the opera's downfall in Moscow.

⁵¹⁸ Stephen Muir, 'The Operas of N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov from 1897 to 1904' (University of Birmingham, 2000).

⁵¹⁹ 'The Operas of N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov from 1897 to 1904,' p. 251.

Firstly, only a few days before the opera was due to be staged in the city, a strike broke out among printing shops. The only advertising for the opera was that displayed by the theatre itself: no newspapers were circulated, and the result is clearly shown in Kashkin's review of the Moscow premiere:

‘These days, Moscow has been left without any newspapers and the majority of the public turned out to be completely ignorant both of the premiere and of the composer's presence in Moscow.’

Despite an enthusiastic response from the half-full house at the Moscow performance, the work did not receive the degree of support that might have been expected, and this must have damaged its chances of success. The printing strike, however, was not the only political reason for the work's failure. According to Kniglikov, in a letter to the composer, there was a tense atmosphere in Moscow and people were generally afraid of venturing out of their houses:

‘Because of the risk involved in showing your face in the streets at night, the public has given up all theatres as a bad job. Recently, at the Maly Theatre, a new play only took fifty rubles at the box office. The box was not full for *Pan* [sic] either, when it was performed outside the subscription series on 28th October, and for the same reason.’

Rimsky-Korsakov sums up the fate of the opera in his memoirs: ‘*[Pan Wojewoda]* enjoyed a *succes d'estime*; but the ever-growing frequency of the strikes, the political disturbances and finally the December uprising in Moscow led to the disappearance of my opera from the repertory after only a few performances.’⁵²⁰

There was also a ban placed on the performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's works in St Petersburg following a performance of *Kashchei the Immortal* on 27th March, 1905,

Given that *Taras Bulba* and *Pan Voyevoda* were aesthetically viable projects and evidence from the suites available suggest they were, both suffered from the consequences of political events rather than any artistic failings. It is safe to say that *Taras Bulba* was not followed through by the Bolshoi Theatre because funding had been cut to theatres since Zhdanovshchina in 1948. Recent findings from Kiril Tomoff and Meri Herrala have confirmed this.

Rittikh, writing in 1965, made a plea for Glière's *Taras Bulba* to be performed:

On stage, the Leningrad Opera and Ballet Kirov Ballet set the Soloviev-Sedoi *Taras Bulba* in a new edition, carried out for the anniversary day of 1952. I think, however,

⁵²⁰ ‘The Operas of N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov from 1897 to 1904,’ pp. 294- 295.

that this should not be the cause to forget the *Taras Bulba* of Glière, After all, there are now in various theatres the two *Forest Song* ballets based on the drama of Lesya Ukrainka, and live on the stage of the opera *Chereviki* and *Christmas Eve* in the same story by Gogol.

Hopefully, the last ballet of Glière will receive a stage presentation, according to the high ideological and artistic qualities of creativity of this prominent Soviet composer. And that time is not far off.⁵²¹

To this date (2017) the ballet has not been performed. Fortunately a recording of the suite from *Taras Bulba* was made by the Odessa Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Hobart Earle in 1997. The suite consists of nine numbers from the ballet:

1. The Cossacks Ride Forth to Zaporizhia Sich
2. Taras Awaits His Sons
3. Andriy
4. Ostap
5. The Boundless Ukrainian Steppe
6. Whirlwind (Gopak)
7. Grand Adagio
8. Mazurka di Bravura
9. The Dance of the Zaporizhians

⁵²¹ Rittikh, 'The Ballet Works of Glière ' p. 182.

Ex 8.27 *Taras Bulba* Suite No. 3 ‘Andriy’



Ex 8.26 *Taras Bulba* Suite No. 7 Grand Adagio melody



The orchestration of the suite is not typically Glière and presumably was made by a team led by Lyatoshinsky. The use of a piano doubling many parts does not seem typical of Glière. There is also more mixing of wind timbres than Glière would typically use in a ballet.

Conclusion

Ballet was always an important art form in modern Russia and up to the end of the nineteenth century attracted the best dancers and choreographers that Europe could offer. Russia became the largest market for ballet and then with the best imported choreographers and native composers became the top producer of ballet as well.

By the time Glière attempted his first ballet *Khrizis* in 1912, the age of Petipa was over. The free dance movement of Isadora Duncan influenced Russian choreography and *Khrizis* was in this style. Although Glière wrote many ballets, only two were successful – *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman*. Of the others *Khrizis*, *The Comedians*, and *The Daughter of Castille* had brief stage lives. *Taras Bulba* did not even make it to the stage suffering from the competition of another ballet based on Gogol's story. Glière spent much time on ballets with Spanish settings, with three attempts but it was ultimately Krein's *Laurencia* that became the favourite in this category. On the other hand Shostakovich's ballets *The Age of Gold*, *Bolt* and *The Bright Stream* had few performances in the composer's lifetime although all three have been successfully revived since the death of Shostakovich. Internationally Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet* and Khachaturian's *Spartacus* have been the most prominent ballets of the Soviet era and *Laurencia* is still staged by the Georgian ballet in Tbilisi.

The Red Poppy with three revivals in 1949, 1957 and 2010 is the most long lived of the Glière ballets and perhaps that is a consequence of it containing Glière's most popular piece 'The Russian Sailors' Dance' as it is known in the West even though more correctly it is 'The Soviet Sailors' Dance'. This instantly recognisable piece which epitomises the arranging and orchestration skills of the composer may never have been included in the ballet if the majority vote of the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra had won their battle not to perform it.

The Bronze Horseman was performed as late as the 1980s but recently, in 2016, it has been revived by the Mariinsky Theatre and taken back into the repertoire. Also in 2016 St Petersburg's second opera theatre the Mikhailovsky Theatre, developed another ballet *The Bronze Idol* and set it to the music of the *Ilya Muromets* symphony.

Epilogue

Overall Style

Although Glière's style has been described as that of a *Kuchka epigone* (Frolova-Walker) and one who 'had hardly modified his style since the Belyaev Circle period',⁵²² (Taruskin) there are in fact perceptible contrasts in Glière's stylistic periods. There is a marked leap from the sound world of the first two symphonies to the Wagnerian *Les Sirènes*. A further leap occurs from *Les Sirènes* to the Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets*. Passages in the second movement portraying the evil Solovei and his maidens verge on atonality. Some of the lieder from the period are dominated by augmented fifth harmonies. By 1908 Glière had largely renounced the language of the *Kuchka* although a partial return was made in the brief third movement of *Ilya Muromets*. The future path in his symphonic composition indicated by *Ilya Muromets* and *Trizna* was never to be. Time constraints and the different priorities of the Soviet regime forced Glière into different genres particularly ballet and ethnic opera. The ballets were largely dictated by choreographers and the composer had to work within the parameters imposed by a dance scenario but Glière's late Russian style does assert itself in the adagios of both *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman*. On the evidence of recent recordings, Glière's first opera, *Shakh-Senem*, appears to be a forgotten masterpiece. Its overture and the two arias in public circulation on Youtube have proved that Glière was particularly inventive in the opera but any potential staging would have problems. Would it be performed in Azeri or Russian? A Russian cast would be easier to assemble and there would be not the political

⁵²² Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, p. 98.

problems associated with a staging as there could be in Azerbaijan. There has been some warming to the opera recently in Azerbaijan so there may be a possibility of a revival in the future.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that although the earlier works of Glière owe much to the New Russian School (i.e. Kuchka), the composer developed an individual style in *Ilya Muromets* which was later modified in response to the requirements of revolutionary Russia. The responsibility of a demanding post in Kyiv and the extra demands of the First World War, 1917 Revolution and ensuing civil war put paid to any hopes of further symphonies. Instead after several early attempts ballet became the new genre. Glière was an innovator in orchestration and as Nicholas Slonimsky pointed out was harmonically of the twentieth century with influences from Scriabin.⁵²³ Because he did not often employ the dissonant harmony or counterpoint that typified neo-classicism he was frequently relegated to the ranks of nineteenth century composers – a ‘Kuchka epigone’ as one critic put it. Glière admired the orchestral technique of Tchaikovsky, Glazunov and Taneyev his teacher and was content to develop their styles not react against them.

Glière’s mixed German and Polish ancestry initially drew him towards the music capitals of Europe but his first tour was shortened by ill health. The second visit was to Berlin to study conducting and was generally successful but Koussevitzky’s poor direction of Glière’s

⁵²³ Slonimsky and Yourke, *Writings on Music*, 2.p. 104

Second Symphony (in its composer's opinion) hastened his return to Moscow. This was the period when he wrote his two great symphonic works – *Les Sirènes* and his Third Symphony *Ilya Muromets*. Without being exposed to Richard Strauss and Mahler in Berlin, Glière would not have considered a symphony of such length. Hostilities between Germany and Russia in 1914 left Glière in an awkward position. He had russianised his name to Reinhold Moritsevich but his two brothers – Moritz and Karl had not. They were deported to Orenburg in the Urals as enemy aliens in September 1914. Further catastrophe was ahead for the family during 1917 when Glière's nephews were executed. The urge to embrace Russian culture and write a ballet score (albeit on a classical Greek theme) did occur in 1912 but was it a coincidence that when he minimised his German links he stopped writing symphonies in the Austro-German tradition?

Glière's current status is moderate – the appearance of many works on record has raised his profile – this particularly applies to the concertos for harp, coloratura and horn and the aurally spectacular nature of Glière's *Ilya Muromets* symphony has led to many recordings. In the LP era virtually all of these performances were cut owing to the length of the symphony. When the extra length of the Compact Disc enabled longer movements, no fewer than four uncut recordings were released. In May 2013 the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra played the symphony in New York for the first time since 2002. In 2010 *The Red Poppy* ballet was revived in Rome and Krasnoyarsk in Russia and remains in the current repertoire for both companies. An edited version of the Krasnoyarsk version is available on YouTube.

In post-Soviet states Glière's profile is variable – in Azerbaijan all records of him have been expunged. The myth, propagated by Stanley Krebs, that *Shakh-Senem* was revised to expel Persian influences from the opera ignores the fact that Persian and Turkish music in the

region is closely intertwined (as is the Azeri language) and it would have been impossible to separate them.

In Uzbekistan there is still a music school named after Glière for his pedagogical achievements although his operas have long been superseded by those of Uzbek composers. In Ukraine there is the R. Glière Kyiv Institute of Music, and his achievements have been recognised but maybe his nationalist credentials are not high enough in the Ukrainian state to warrant extra attention as yet. The exception is the Odessa Philharmonic Orchestra which released a highly regarded recording of the *Taras Bulba* suite.

Glière's experience as director of the Kyiv Conservatory through the First World War, 1917 revolution then civil war was instrumental in him becoming the first president of the Soviet Composers' Union in 1939. His benign personality was also of advantage to the position.

Born of a German father and Polish mother, the composer was nevertheless declared by author Leonid Sabaneyev to be of Belgian origin. This was disproved by Gulinskaya with the compelling evidence of Reinhold Glière's Lutheran baptism certificate and later by the composer's German relatives with the startling information that his two brothers had been interned during World War 1 and had escaped to Germany. A composer born of German and Polish heritage who became prominent in *fin de siècle* Russia as a symphonist and then in the fledgling Soviet Union as a ballet composer emphasises the multi-national nature of Russian music. Glière's most popular works, particularly the two ballets *The Red Poppy* and *The Bronze Horseman* were exploited commercially in the Soviet Union and suffered a reaction against their over-accessibility. The saying 'familiarity breeds contempt' could perhaps be applied to the number of performances that some of Glière's works received and there is evidence to suggest these pieces suffered from over-exposure during his lifetime. The fact

that Kyiv heard *Ilya Muromets* 32 times over forty years may have led to a certain over familiarity which led to its retirement from the repertoire.

A complete and balanced history of music during the Soviet era has yet to be written. The best so far (Boris Schwarz) was written twenty years before glasnost and the subsequent break-up of the Soviet Union. Fleeting glimpses have been provided with the biographies of Prokofiev and Shostakovich but it is only by fuller investigation of composers such as Glazunov, Glière, and Steinberg, that more light can be shed on a period which has yet to reveal its full legacy.

The aesthetic of composers Glière, Rachmaninov, Steinberg, and Grechaninov was shaped by a sense of escapism from the horrors of revolution and civil war that surrounded them. The succeeding generation of composers including Myaskovsky, Prokofiev and Shostakovich were more reflective of the Soviet reality. Glière may have been a transitional composer but one would have to challenge the myth that he was a non-progressive composer. In the second movement of *Ilya Muromets* Glière used dissonances - with combined augmented chords - as daring as any to portray Solovei's death whistle.ⁱ

This research has shown that while Glière was not the most progressive composer before the First World War neither was he the most conservative. The dissonant harmonies present in *Ilya Muromets* and in the composer's art songs of the period suggest that Glière was influenced by Scriabin at this time. The notion of Glière as a transitional figure between the New Russian School and the great Soviet composers Prokofiev and Shostakovich is a powerful one.

Appendices 1 Review of Berlin Concert

142

SIGNALE

unwiderstehlichen inneren Drang zum Schaffen beherrscht wird. Nun, und das kann bei Siegfried Wagner kaum der Fall sein. Selbst diejenigen, die sich aus irrigem Pietätsgefühl gegen den grossen Richard veranlasst fühlen, seinem Sohne Siegfried die bittere Wahrheit vorzuenthalten, werden nach der Aufführung des „Sternengebets“ unmöglich mit der Hand auf dem Herzen dem Komponisten zugerufen haben: fahro so fort! August Spanuth.

August Wilhelmj †

Wieder ist ein grosser Geiger gestorben: in London ist August Wilhelmj, zweiundsechzig Jahre alt, von der Bühne des Lebens abgegangen, nachdem er die Bühne des Konzertsahls schon lange zuvor verlassen hatte. Selten ist einem jungen ungewöhnlichen Talent der Weg zum Erfolge so geebnet worden, wie ihm, und selten ist ein Künstler, nachdem er Weltruf erreicht, so schnell in Vergessenheit geraten. Wilhelmj hat seine letzten Lebensjahre als Lehrer des Violinspiels in London verbracht; körperliche Leiden hatten ihn mühsam gemacht.

Von Franz Liszt protegiert, kam er noch als Knabe zu David in Leipzig, wo man den Siebzehnjährigen, noch als Konservatoriumsschüler, im Gewandhaus auftreten liess. Zwanzig Jahre alt, begann er sich auf ausgedehnte Konzertreisen zu begeben, und wo er sich hören liess, wurde ihm der Erfolg leicht. Schon seine wundervolle blonde Jünglingserscheinung nahm für ihn ein, der ausdrucksvolle Kopf, die Ruhe der Haltung. Und welcher einen runden, schlackenfreien Ton wusste er den Saiten zu entlocken, welche unerschöpfliche Kraftfülle schenken dieser Ton zu bestreiten, wenn Wilhelmj die Kavatine von Raff spielte, die er in der ganzen Welt bekannt machte! Dazu hatte seine Technik jene Leichtigkeit und Verlässlichkeit, die man gern als Unfehlbarkeit bezeichnet. Auch schien es damals, als sollte Wilhelmj ausser seiner Bedeutung als Virtuose noch eine solche als musikalischer Führer gewinnen, denn im Gegensatz zum älteren Joachim wandte sich Wilhelmj mit Begeisterung der Wagnerschen Sache zu. Im ersten Nibelungenjahr war Wilhelmj in Bayreuth Führer der Gelgen und wurde Wagners Freund. Aber dann kam bald wieder weite Konzertreisen, über den Ozean hinüber, nach Nord- und Südamerika, nach Australien und Asien, und mit ihnen kam wohl auch eine Periode unregelmässiger Lebensweise. Zwar kehrte er immer wieder nach Deutschland zurück, aber es gelang ihm nicht, jene führende Stellung als Musiker in seinem Vaterlande zu gewinnen. Im Jahre 1891 trat er als Leiter des Violindepartements in die Fakultät der Londoner Guild-Hall-Music School ein, und in London hat er dann bis zu seinem Ende gelebt.

Eine Eigentümlichkeit seines Namens ist, dass niemand geneigt zu sein scheint, ihn korrekt auszusprechen: man liest unbekümmert das j am Ende aus. Vokal gelten und spricht den Namen dreisilbig, während der Schlusskonsonant doch sicherlich nur die altertümliche Diminutivform ist und für „chen“ steht.

Edward Mac Dowell †

Edward Alexander Mac Dowell ist, wie das Kabel aus New York meldet, 46 Jahre alt im Irtsinn gestorben.

Edward Mac Dowell war unstreitig der begabteste und originellste Komponist den Amerika bis jetzt hervorgebracht hat, und als er vor einigen Jahren vom Irtsinn

SIGNALE

143

befallen wurde, erlitt Amerika einen Verlust, für den bis jetzt noch kein Ersatz in Sicht ist. An reproduktiven Talenten fehlt es den Vereinigten Staaten nicht, aber selbständig schaffende, nicht bloss nachahmende Komponisten sind dort noch immer „few and far between“. Mac Dowell war nun auch zwar kein Genius, aber doch ein sehr beachtenswertes Talent, das sich zwar an europäischen Mustern gebildet — vornehmlich an Joachim Raff — aber doch seine ganz bestimmte „eigene Note“ hatte. Wer sich davon am gründlichsten und schnellsten überzeugen will, nehme seine Klaviersuite op. 10, E-moll, vor; sie ist eigenartiger und anziehender als seine beiden Klavierkonzerte und die Mehrzahl seiner Orchesterkompositionen. Ob Mac Dowell sich noch grösser entwickelt haben würde, wäre er nicht vom Irtsinn befallen worden, ist natürlich eine ganz überflüssige Erwägung. Ebenso missig ist es, nach den Gründen des Irtsinns zu forschen. Erwähnenswert ist es aber, dass Mac Dowells Lehrer im Klavierspiel, der ausgezeichnete Carl Heymann, demselben Uebel, sicherlich aber aus anderen Gründen verfiel.

Edward Mac Dowell hatte seinen ersten Unterricht von Teresa Carreno erhalten, dann ging er nach Paris und studierte mit Marmontel. Von dort wandte er sich nach Wiesbaden und später nach Frankfurt zu Raff und Heymann. Nach beendigem Studium verblieb er mehrere Jahre in Deutschland und hatte das Glück, dass Liszt sich für seine Orchesterkompositionen verwendete. Im Jahre 1888 ging er nach Boston, und seit 1896 lebte er wieder in seiner Vaterstadt New York, wo er bis kurz vor dem Eintritt seiner geistigen Umnachtung als Professor der Musik an der Columbia University wirkte.

Aus Berlin.

Kussewitzky, Rachmaninoff, Glier.

Unsere musikalischen Beziehungen zu Russland sind in den letzten Jahren recht intime geworden: deutsche Dirigenten und Virtuosen

gehen häufiger denn je auf Gastreisen nach dem Zarenreich, und russische Komponisten und Virtuosen besuchen uns auf längere Zeit, ja, lassen sich dauernd bei uns nieder. Neuerdings bekommen wir aber auch Gelegenheit, Bekanntschaft mit russischen Dirigenten zu machen. Der neueste russische Aspirant um Dirigentenlorbeer stellte sich am letzten Donnerstag im Beethovensaal vor in der Person des allbekannten und ausgezeichneten Kontrabassvirtuosen Sergei Kussewitzky. Wer schon auf dem einen Gebiete der Kunst etwas hervorragendes leistet, begegnet gewöhnlich doppeltem Misstrauen, wenn er sich auf ein anderes begibt. Bei Kussewitzky schien das aber nicht der Fall zu sein: war auch der Beifall zu Anfang des Abends ein etwas reservierter, so nahm er dafür zum Schluss des Konzertes die Dimensionen einer Ovation an.

Und das war durchaus verdient, denn Kussewitzky liess keinen Zweifel darüber, dass er ein Interpret von ungewöhnlichem Temperament und ein wirklicher Orchesterführer ist. Die Musiker des Philharmonischen Orchesters standen mit dem Dirigenten im nie unterbrochenen Kontakt, und dieser verlor trotz seines warmblütigen Temperaments auch bei den kompliziertesten Stellen nie die Selbstkontrolle. War das wirklich Kussewitzkys erster Dirigier-Versuch, dann kann man allerdings viel von ihm erwarten. Bei dieser Gelegenheit gab er uns ein durchaus russisches Programm, das beinahe ausschliesslich Novitäten enthielt, und er wird daher einen ergänzenden Beweis seiner Interpretationskunst im zweiten Konzert zu liefern haben, wo er auch Beethoven auf dem Programm hat. Das aber kann heute

schon konstatiert werden, dass man sich für russische Musik kaum einen besseren Dolmetscher wünschen kann, als diesen Debutanten des Taktstocks. Er weiss dem Orchester elementare Kraftausbrüche sowohl wie süssesten Klangreiz abzugewinnen, und bei allem Schwung und allem Temperament bewahrt er doch autoritative Beherrschung. Nach dieser Probe kann man sich wohl vorstellen, dass seiner Natur der Kontrabass mit seiner begrenzten Literatur nicht genügen wollte, dass er grössere Reiche zu erobern strebt. Er hat sich mit einem Schlage eine ganz neue Position in der musikalischen Welt erobert.

Der zweite Gefeierte des Abends aber war Sergel Rachmaninoff, der zwar für manche grössere Kompositionen schon vielen Beifall geerntet hat, aber in der weiteren musikalischen Welt vornehmlich als Komponist des Cis-moll-Präludiums bekannt ist. Er spielte es bei dieser Gelegenheit natürlich als Zugabe. Die Hauptsache aber war sein zweites Klavierkonzert, ein kraftvolles, etwas arpeggiertüberladenes Stück Musik, das so ziemlich alle guten Charakteristika der jüngeren russischen Schule aufzuweisen hat. Das Adagio hat viel Stimmung und der letzte Satz eine schöne animalische Wildheit. Es machte unter den Fingern des Komponisten zündenden Effekt, und es wird wohl manchen Pianisten, der es gehört, angeregt haben, es sich ebenfalls für sein Repertoire zu erobern. Rachmaninoffs Klavierspiel ist dasjenige eines ausgezeichneten warmblütigen Musikers, der aus der Pianisterlei keine Spezialität macht. Seine Technik ist eine ausgebreitete und bewältigt alle möglichen Aufgaben, aber nicht immer mit der Eleganz und der „selbstverständlichen“ Leichtigkeit des professionellen Virtuosen.

Mit Tschalkowskys schöner „Romeo und Julia“-Phantasie hatte das Konzert begonnen, und ein Stück Zwischenaktmusik aus S. Tanetews „Orestie“ bildete die zweite Orchesternummer: keine dekorative Musik, fein und tonschön ausgeführt. Das Hauptstück aber bildete Giliers zweite Symphonie, die noch Manuskript ist. Giler ist einer der hoffnungsvollsten russischen Komponisten, der übrigens seit zwei Jahren hier in Berlin lebt. Uebrigens wird sein Name im Russischen zweisilbig ausgesprochen, während die ursprüngliche deutsche Aussprache einsilbig ist. Er ist ohne Frage ein ungewöhnliches Talent. Noch stürmt und drängt er ein wenig zu sehr, und diese zweite Symphonie ist noch kein Meisterwerk. Aber es wetterleuchtet nicht bloss in ihr, es schlägt auch manchmal ein. Im ersten Satz sind einige grosse und originelle Züge. Das Scherzo hat ein sehr brauchbares Hauptthema, entbehrt aber im Mittelsatz des richtigen Kontrastes. Die Variationen sind fast durchweg fesselnd, auch wo das Variieren nicht weit unter die Oberfläche geht. Der letzte Satz ist orkanisch und teilweise brutal. Hier war ein Blech-aufwand, der weniger Kraft als Lärm bedeutete. Es würde sich schon verlohnen, diesen letzten Satz ein wenig umzuarbeiten.

Tauszky, das Böhmisches Quartett, Siegel.

Im Beethovensaal liess sich am 20. Januar die Pianistin Marie Tauszky mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester, und zwar in drei Konzerten (von Mozart, Mendelssohn und Saint-Saens) hören. Sie hat ein gut Teil Fingerfertigkeit, aber sie ist noch nicht zu dem Stadium durchgedrungen, wo die Passage nicht mehr klingt, als würde sie ihrer selbst halber gespielt. Im Mendelssohnschen G-moll-Konzert waren zum Beispiel noch keine Anläufe zu eigener künstlerischer Geschmackskontrolle zu spüren. Nun, die Dame ist noch jung und hat Zeit, tüchtig hinzu zu lernen. Sie muss sich vor allem gewöhnen, hinter jeder Passage die Musik zu entdecken. — Einen grossen Genuss bereiteten am 21. Januar, ebenfalls

im Beethovensaal, die „Böhmen“, wie man die Quartettgenossenschaft von Hoffmann, Suk, Herold und Wilian zu nennen pflegt. Auch wer nur eine von den drei Gaben des Programms, zum Beispiel das Brahms'sche A-moll-Quartett, anhören konnte, nahm mehr nach Hause mit, als er zuweilen von einem halben Dutzend pretentioser Konzerte heimträgt. Es war ein liebevolles Versenken in die Musik, was das Spiel der vier Herren so berechtigte machte. Wer konnte bei diesem Vortrag auch nur an den Begriff der Technik denken! Bei der Schlussnummer, dem Klarinettenquintett von Mozart, wirkte der Klarinetist Oscar Schubert mit. — Louis Siegel heisst ein junger Violinist, der sich schon als Mitglied des Hekking-Trios einen Namen gemacht hat. Siegel ist ein Schüler Isyays, und sein Lehrer — der übrigens tags zuvor in der Philharmonie tausende von Menschen durch sein Violinspiel entzückte hatte — dirigierte das begleitende Philharmonische Orchester. Nicht zum besten: er hat beim Dirigieren eine sehr viel schwerere Hand, als beim Violinspielen. Siegel aber ist unfraglich ein begabter junger Künstler, der bereits viel kann, aber die Verpflichtung hat an seiner Vervollkommenung rüstig weiter zu arbeiten. Seine Intonation und sein Ton ist keineswegs immer zuverlässig und schön, und seine Auffassung des Brahms'schen Konzertes war — ob sie nun auf sein Konto oder auf dasjenige des dirigierenden Lehrers kommt — nicht durchaus überzeugend. Da war manche Gespreiztheit, wo Schlichtheit mehr am Platze gewesen sein möchte. Immerhin, Siegels Talent wird bei rüstigem Vorwärtstreben schon noch beträchtlich höher führen.

August Spanuth.

Panzner, Weingartner, Marteau.

Das siebente Sinfonie-Konzert des Mozart-Orchesters unter Leitung von Prof. Karl Panzner brachte Weingartner's zweite Symphonie in Es-dur. Ein unerschütterliches Werk. Nicht so sehr die Verarbeitung des thematischen Materials und die Orchesterbehandlung sind anfechtbar, als vielmehr der eigentliche Inhalt. Nicht wenige Stellen gibt es in dieser Sinfonie, die durch die Art und Weise der technischen Behandlung fesseln könnten, wenn nur nicht jedesmal mit einer schon fast verblüffenden Regelmässigkeit irgend eine ganz bekannte Phrase erklänge. Bisweilen könnte man glauben ein Potpourri aus Beethoven, Wagner, Brahms, Humperdinck'schen Brocken bestehend würde vorgetragen. Was aus eigener Erfindung übrig bleibt, erscheint mir reichlich ordinär. Der letzte Satz insbesondere ist voll von solchen, gelinde ausgedrückt populären Einfällen. Mehr Freude bereiteten die beiden Solisten. Henri Marteau wurde bei seinem Erscheinen mit einer warmen Herzlichkeit begrüsst, die ihm zeigen mochte, wie willkommen er hier ist. Marteau's Berufung an die Berliner Hochschule und die bekannte Telegrammgeschichte hatten zusammengewirkt, um dem ganzen Konzert etwas Sensationelles zu geben. Nichts dergleichen jedoch in der Kunst Marteau's. Mit der wohlthuenden schlichten Vornehmheit, die sich seiner reifen technischen Meisterschaft eint, spielte er hinreissend schön die Symphonie Espagnole von Lalo, und als Zugabe auf den begeisterten Beifall des Publikums hin das herrliche Präludium aus der Bach'schen E-dur Sonate. Der Tenorist Hermann Jadowker, ein hier wenig bekannter junger Sänger, machte recht guten Eindruck. Warum er die etwas stüsslich sentimentale Arie des Zensky aus Tschalkowsky's Eugen Onegin gewählt hat, sehe ich nicht recht ein. Doch sang er das Stück gut und zeigte sich auch in Liedern von Cornelius, Strauss, Brahms als rein musikalisch gut veranlagter Sänger, auf dessen weitere Entwicklung man wohl Hoffnungen setzen kann. Mit einer schwungvollen Wiedergabe von Berlioz's Cello-Ouverture beendete Prof. Panzner das übermässig lange Konzert.

Glière Complete Works with Opus Number

- Op.1 - *String Sextet No.1* in C minor (1898)
- Op.2 - *String Quartet No.1* in A major (1899)
- Op.3 - *Romance* in D major for violin and piano (1902)
- Op.4 - *Ballade* in B \flat major for cello and piano (1902)
- Op.5 - *String Octet* in D major (1900)
- Op.6 - *3 Romances* for voice and piano (1902)
 - 1. [Не верь, что заботам] (after [George Gordon Byron](#))
 - 2. People's tears [Слёзы людские] ([Fyodor Tyutchev](#))
 - 3. In moments to delight devoted [В порыве нежности сердечной] ([Ivan Kozlov](#) after [George Gordon Byron](#))
- Op.7 - *String Sextet No.2* in B minor (1904)
- Op.8 - *Symphony No.1* in E \flat major (1899-1900)
- Op.9 - *2 Morceaux pour contrebasse et piano* (1902)
 - 1. Intermezzo
 - 2. Tarantella
- Op.10 - *6 Romances* for voice and piano (1904)
 - 1. [Оттого моя арфа безмолвна висит] ([Pyotr Yakubovich](#))
 - 2. [Колокола] ([Konstantin Romanov](#))
 - 3. [Умчался день] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 4. [Любовь - мечта] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 5. [Проснись, дитя моё] ([Pyotr Yakubovich](#))
 - 6. [В порыве слёз] ([T. Goldenweiser](#))
- Op.11 - *String Sextet No.3* in C major (1904)
- Op.12 - *6 Romances* for voice and piano (1903)
 - 1. [Если жизнь тебя обманет] ([Aleksandr Pushkin](#))
 - 2. [Звёздочка кроткая] ([Pyotr Yakubovich](#))
 - 3. [Ты так наивна] ([Elizaveta Gnesina](#))
 - 4. [Придётся ли с новою весной] ([Mirra Lokhvitskaya](#))
 - 5. [Любовь цветет] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 6. [Чего хочу, чего] ([Nikolay Ogaryov](#))
- Op.13 - *Suite* for two-part female choir and piano (1904)
 - 1. Spring [Весна] ([Yulia Zhadovskaya](#))

2. Summer [Лето] ([Aleksey Pleshcheyev](#))
 3. Autumn [Осень] ([Apollon Maykov](#))
 4. Winter [Зима] ([Aleksandr Pushkin](#))
- **Op.14** - *6 Romances* for voice and piano (1904)
 1. The night is sad [Ночь печальна] ([Ivan Bunin](#))
 2. We parted [Мы с тобой разошлись навсегда] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 3. [На цветах дрожат слезинки] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 4. [Как светла, как нарядна весна] ([Ivan Bunin](#))
 5. How dark is the night [Как ночь темна] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 6. [Поймут ли?] ([Mirra Lokhvitskaya](#))
 - **Op.15** - Scherzo for piano in C# minor (1904)
 - **Op.16** - *2 Pieces for Piano* (1904)
 1. Prélude in C minor
 2. Romance in E major
 - **Op.17** - *5 Esquisses* for piano (1904)
 - **Op.18** - *8 Romances* for voice and piano (1904)
 1. [Весна наступила] ([D. Manukhin](#))
 2. [Сумерки] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 3. [Звёзды ночью весенней] ([Ivan Bunin](#))
 4. [Снова сон] ([Ivan Bunin](#))
 5. [Темные тучи нависли над нами] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 6. [О, что со мной] ([A. Solomon](#))
 7. [О, не вплетай цветов] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 8. [Берберская Песня] (Anonymous)
 - **Op.19** - *3 Morceaux* for piano (1905)
 1. Mazurka in A minor
 2. Intermezzo in B major
 3. Mazurka in B minor
 - **Op.20** - *String Quartet No.2* in G minor (1905)
 - **Op.21** - *3 Pieces for Piano* (1905)
 1. Tristesse
 2. Joie
 3. Chagrin

- Op.22 - *The Smithy*, Romance for bass and piano (1904)
- Op.23 - *5 Romances* for voice and piano (1905)
 1. [В дали безбрежной] (Aleksandr Struve)
 2. [Я твой смех беспечный] (Pyotr Yakubovich)
 3. [Опять, опять твой тихий лепет] (Daniil Rathaus)
 4. [Листья шумели уныло] (Aleksey Pleshcheyev)
 5. [Нет, не могу я заснуть] (Konstantin Balmont)
- Op.24 - *6 Two-part Childrens Choruses* accompanied on piano (1905)
 1. [Здравствуй, гостя зима] (Ivan Nikitin)
 2. [Колыбельная песня] (Margarita Ivensen)
 3. [Сияет солнце] (Fyodor Tyutchev)
 4. [Над цветами и травой] (сл. из журнала "Малютка")
 5. [Цветок (Весело цветики в поле...)] (Aleksey Pleshcheyev)
 6. [В синем море]
- Op.25 - *Symphony No.2* in C minor (1907)
- Op.26 - *6 Morceaux* for piano (1906)
 1. Prélude (B \flat major)
 2. Prélude (E \flat minor)
 3. Prélude (B minor)
 4. Chanson Simple (E minor)
 5. Mazurka (F minor)
 6. Feuillet d'Album (B \flat major)
- Op.27 - *7 Romances* for voice and piano (1906)
 1. [Твои глаза мне так сияют] (Daniil Rathaus)
 2. [Под шум дождя] (Daniil Rathaus)
 3. [Как тепло, как привольно весной!] (Mirra Lokhvitskaya)
 4. [Побледнели, увяли цветы] (Daniil Rathaus)
 5. [В полусне] (Daniil Rathaus)
 6. [Падают капли печальные] (Daniil Rathaus)
 7. [И ветра стон] (Mirra Lokhvitskaya)
- Op.28 - *11 Romances* for voice and piano (1906)
 1. [Коль любить, так без рассудку] (Aleksey Tolstoy)
 2. [Восточная песнь] (Nikolay Minsky)

3. [О, если б грусть моя] ([Sergey Safonov](#)) or O. Rossveyn (?)
4. [Как в бреду] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
5. [Жить - будем жить!] ([Glafira Galina](#))
6. [Ты весенних обманов не жди] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
7. [Всё мне грезится море] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
8. [Засмеёшься ли ты, - мне не весело] ([Fyodor Sologub](#))
9. [Я больше её не люблю] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
10. [Взор твой безмолвен - и всюду мгла] ([Mirra Likhvitskaya](#))
11. [Спит море предо мной] ([Stepan Petrov](#))

- Op.29 - [3 Mazurkas](#) for piano (1906)
- Op.30 - [25 Preludes](#) for piano, in five Bks. (1907)
- Op.31 - [Kinderstücke](#), 12 piano pieces of middle difficulty for children (1907)
 1. Prélude
 2. Nocturne
 3. Berceuse
 4. Rêverie
 5. Chanson populaire
 6. Valse
 7. Romance
 8. Etude
 9. Mazurka
 10. Chant oriental
 11. Feuilleton d'album
 12. Air de Ballet
- Op.32 - 2 pieces for double-bass and piano (1908)
- Op.33 - [The Sirens](#), symphonic poem for big orchestra in F minor (1904-1908)
- Op.34 - [24 Pieces Caractéristiques pour la Jeunesse](#), piano pieces for the youth in 4 Bks. (1908)
 1. Petit poème [Маленькая поэма]
 2. Danse polonaise [Польский танец]
 3. Les larmes [Слёзы]
 4. Chant des chasseurs [Песня охотников]
 5. Regret [Сожаление]
 6. Les clochettes [Колокольчики]

7. Aux champs [В полях]
8. Arlequin [Арлекин]
9. Chanson [Песня]
10. Au berceau [У колыбели]
11. Ballade [Баллада]
12. Esquisse [Эскиз]
13. Melodie [Мелодия]
14. Scherzo [Скерцо]
15. Chanson Russe [Русская песня]
16. Danse des badins
17. Aquarelle [Акварель]
18. Impromptu [Экспромт]
19. Serenade [Серенада]
20. Quasi menuetto [Вроде менуэта]
21. Meditation
22. Pastorale
23. En reve
24. Danse orientale

▪ **Op.35 - 11 *Pieces* for different instruments and piano (1908)**

1. Mélodie (Flûte)
2. Valse (Flûte)
3. Chanson (Oboe or Violin)
4. Andante (Oboe or Violin)
5. Moment musical (Violoncello)
6. Romance (Clarinet)
7. Valse triste (Clarinet)
8. Humoresque (Bassoon)
9. Impromptu (Bassoon)
10. Nocturne (Horn)
11. Intermezzo (Horn)

▪ **Op.36 - 6 *Romances* for voice accompanied by piano (1908)**

1. [Сладко пел душа соловушко] ([Ivan Lazhechnikov](#)) or A. Merzlyakov (?)
2. [Смерть] ([Ivan Bunin](#))
3. [Могла ль не верить я] ([Mirra Likhvitskaya](#))

4. [Вы сказались, бессонные ночи] (Stepan Petrov)
 5. [Она пела] (Mikhail Rozengeim)
 6. [Душа моя в плену] (Pyotr Yakubovich)
- Op.37 - *4 two-part childrens choruses* accompanied by piano (1908)
 1. [Травка зеленеет] (Aleksey Pleshcheyev)
 2. [Здравствуй, весна!] (Nina Naidenova)
 3. [Тихо пламя зорьки ясной] (Ivan Belousov)
 4. [Вечер] (Aleksey Pleshcheyev)
 - Op.38 - 24 easy pieces for piano 4 hands (1908)
 1. Prélude in D major
 2. Valse in C major
 3. Impromptu in Ab major
 4. Menuett in D major
 5. Folksong in B minor
 6. Mazurka in A major
 7. Albumleaf in A minor
 8. Musical Moment in Ab major
 9. Elegie in B minor
 10. Melodie in C major
 11. Berceuse in F minor
 12. Scherzo in D major
 13. Regret in F# minor
 14. Agitato in G minor
 15. A Lyrical Moment in E major
 16. March in C minor
 17. Orientale in B major
 18. Esquisses in E minor
 19. Reverie in B major
 20. Arabeque in G major
 21. Intermezzo in Eb major
 22. Song in A minor
 23. Melancholic Thoughts in Db major
 24. Tarantella in F major
 - Op.39 - *8 Pieces* - Duets for violin and cello (1909)

- **Op.40** - *2 Esquisses* for piano (1909)
 1. Tranquillo in Db major
 2. Allegro molto e leggero in C# minor
- **Op.41** - *6 Morceaux pour 2 Pianos* 4 hands (1909)
 1. Prélude in E minor
 2. Valse triste in C minor
 3. Chanson in B minor
 4. Basso ostinato in A minor
 5. Air de ballet in B major
 6. Mazurka in C# minor
- **Op.42** - *Symphony No.3 'Ilya Murometz'*, in B minor (1909-1911)
- **Op.43** - *8 Easy Pieces for Piano* (1909)
 1. Prélude [Прелюдия]
 2. Prayer
 3. Mazurka [Мазурка]
 4. Morning [Утро]
 5. Evening [Вечер]
 6. Rondo [Рондо]
 7. Arietta [Ариэтта]
 8. Little March [Маленький марш]
- **Op.44** - *4 Romances* for voice and piano (1908)
 1. At night [Ночью] (*Marietta Shaginyan*)
 2. [У моря ночью] (*Konstantin Balmont*)
 3. [Ручей] (*Stepan Petrov*)
 4. [Ночь серебристая] (*Daniil Rathaus*)
- **Op.45** - *12 Pièces faciles* for violin and piano (1909)
 1. Prélude
 2. Valse (Waltz)
 3. Romance
 4. Chanson populaire
 5. Caprice
 6. Etude
 7. Air
 8. Impromptu

- 9. Mazurka
- 10. Nocturne
- 11. Scherzo
- **Op.46 - 4 *Romances*** for voice and piano (1909-1910)
 - 1. [Слышу я голос ласкающий] ([Sergey Makovsky](#))
 - 2. [Меж подводных стеблей] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
 - 3. [Тоска любви] ([Mirra Lokhvitskaya](#))
 - 4. [Мы плыли с тобой] ([Stepan Petrov](#))
- **Op.47 - 12 *Esquisses*** (middle difficulty) for piano in 3 Bks. (1909)
- **Op.48 - 12 *Morceaux*** of middle difficulty for piano 4 hands (1909)
 - 1. Prélude
 - 2. Valse
 - 3. Esquisse
 - 4. Plainte
 - 5. Etude
 - 6. Chanson Bergère
 - 7. Arabesque
 - 8. En Reve
 - 9. Mazurka
 - 10. Fughetta [Фугетта]
 - 11. Scherzo
 - 12. Orientale
- **Op.49 - 12 *Duos for 2 Violins*** (1909)
- **Op.50 - 2 *Romances*** for voice and piano (1909)
 - 1. Zieht die Nacht... [Ночь идет...]
 - 2. Erwache, Kind!.. [Проснись, дитя!]
- **Op.51 - 12 *Albumleaves for Cello and Piano*** (1910)
- **Op.52 - 12 *Romances*** for voice and piano (1911)
 - 1. [Там, где сетью белоснежной] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 2. [Так долго ждать] ([Mirra Lokhvitskaya](#))
 - 3. [Как звезды бессмертно горят] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
 - 4. [Надвигается сумрак] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 5. [Только лишь грёза] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
 - 6. [Я боюсь что люблю] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))

7. [Под звучными волнами] ([Fyodor Sologub](#))
8. [Русалка] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
9. [Точно призрак умирающий] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
10. [Я один] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
11. [День погас] ([Daniil Rathaus](#))
12. [Я хочу веселья] ([Stepan Petrov](#))

- **Op.53** - *10 Duos for 2 Cellos* (1911)
- **Op.54** - *7 Artistic-Instructive Pieces* for violin and piano in two books / 1-3 positions / (1911)

1. Prelude [Прелюдия]
2. Pastoral [Пастораль]
3. Esquisse [Эскиз]
4. Minuet [Менуэт]
5. Melodie [Мелодия]
6. [У ручья]
7. Humoresque [Юмореска]

- **Op.55** - 2 works for womens' choir accompanied by piano (1911)
- **Op.56** - *3 Esquisses* for piano (1911)

1. A major
2. G# minor
3. Db major

- **Op.57** - *Ghazals about a rose* [Газэлы о розе], 7 romances for voice and piano on text of [Vyacheslav Ivanov](#) (1911)

1. [Всем Армения богата]
2. [Милий меж юнаков]
3. [Упоена и в неге тонет]
4. [Славит мечь багряной славой]
5. [Вся над башней звездочета]
6. [Что любовь?]
7. [Страж последнего порога]

- **Op.58** - *7 Romances* for voice and piano (1912)
 1. From Paul Verlaine [Из Поля Верлена] ([Valery Bryusov](#) after [Paul Verlaine](#))

2. [В этом мире] ([Sergey Makovsky](#))
 3. [Грустные взоры склоняя] ([Fyodor Sologub](#))
 4. [Лада] ([Lyubov Stolitsa](#))
 5. The Three Holy Kings [Три светлых царя из восточной страны] ([Aleksandr Blok](#) after [Heinrich Heine](#))
 6. You beautiful fisher maiden [Красавица рыбачка] ([Aleksandr Blok](#) after [Heinrich Heine](#))
 7. [Я атлас злополучный] ([Aleksandr Blok](#) after [Heinrich Heine](#))
- **Op.59** - 7 Romances for voice and piano (1912)
 1. [Я звал тебя] ([Sergey Makovsky](#))
 2. [Люби меня ясно, как любит заря] ([Fyodor Sologub](#))
 3. [Над пучиной моря] ([Konstantin Balmont](#))
 4. [На заре] ([Mikhail Sabashnikov](#))
 5. [Мне страшно. Целую тебя] ([Sergey Makovsky](#))
 6. [Грёзы] ([Boris Bugayev](#))
 7. [Безумный жрец] ([Sergey Makovsky](#))
 - **Op.60** - 2 Poems for voice (Soprano) and orchestra (1st Ed. 1924, 2nd Ed. 1942)
 - **Op.61** - 24 Pieces for two pianos 4 hands (1912)
 1. Prélude
 2. Six variations on an original theme
 3. Ostinato
 4. Soirée d'été
 5. Chant populaire
 6. Danse populaire
 7. Dans la forêt
 8. Les nymphes
 9. Nocturne
 10. Pres du ruisseau [У ручья]
 11. Le génie de la forêt
 12. La chasse
 13. Prélude oriental
 14. Danse languide
 15. Muezzin
 16. Danse orientale

17. Journa
18. Pres d'une mosquée [У мечети]
19. Au champ
20. Le blé flottant
21. Les bluets
22. L'alouette
23. Chant des faucheurs
24. Le Vent

▪ **Op.62** - 7 Romances for voice and piano (1912)

1. [Ты мне была сестрой] (Konstantin Balmont)
2. [Осенница] (Vitol Akhramovich)
3. [От пламени страстей] (Vladimir Solovyov)
4. [И плакала она] (Viktor Strazhev)
5. [Когда я прозревал] (Aleksandr Blok)
6. [Осени дыханием гонимы] (Maxim Gorky)
7. [Кто, волны, вас остановил] (Aleksandr Pushkin)

▪ **Op.63** - 12 Romances for voice and piano (1913)

1. [Дуют ветры] (Aleksey Koltsov)
2. [Когда тебя клеймят] (Mirra Lokhvitskaya)
3. [Свеча горит и меркнет] (Konstantin Balmont)
4. [Если б счастье моё было вольным орлом] (Mirra Lokhvitskaya)
5. [Колыбельная песня] (Valery Bryusov)
6. [Словно как лебеди белые] (Konstantin Sluchevsky)
7. [Ночь и буря] (Nikolay Ogaryov)
8. [Да, это был лишь сон] (Mirra Lokhvitskaya)
9. [Грядой клубится белою] (Aleksey Tolstoy)
10. [Люблю тебя]
11. [Свет победит!] (Pyotr Yakubovich)
12. [Отчалила лодка] (Aleksey Apukhtin)

▪ **Op.63b** - Préludes

1. A minor
- 2.
3. G# minor
- 4.

- 5.
- 6.
7. E major

- **Op.64** - *The Zaporozhe Cossacks*, Symphonic ballet-piece (after the painting of Ilya Efimovich Repin) in F Major (1921)
- **Op.65** - *Khrizis* [Хризис], Mimes ballet in 3 acts (1st Ed. 1912, 2nd Ed. 1925)
 - **Op.65a** - Suite No.1 from the ballet *Khrizis* for symphonic orchestra (1925)
 - **Op.65b** - Suite No.2 from the ballet *Khrizis* for symphonic orchestra (1925)
- **Op.66** - *Trizna*, Symphonic Poem in F# minor (1911-1915)
- **Op.67** - *String Quartet No.3* in D minor (1927)
- **Op.68** - *The comedians*, Ballet in 3 acts with prologue (1st Ed. 1922, 2nd Ed. 1930, 3rd Ed. 1935)
 - **Op.68a** - Suite No.1 for Symphonic Orchestra from the Ballet *The comedians* (1930)
 - **Op.68b** - Suite No.2 for Symphonic Orchestra from the Ballet *The comedians* (1930)
- **Op.69** - *Shakh-Senem* [Шах-Сенем], opera in 4 acts (1st Ed. 1923-25, 2nd Ed. 1926-1934)
 - **Op.69a** - Suite for Symphonic Orchestra from the opera *Shakh-Senem* (1933)
- **Op.70** - *The Red Poppy* [Красный мак], ballet in 3 acts (1st Ed. 1926-27, 2nd Ed. 1949, 3rd Ed. 1955)
 - **Op.70a** - Suite No. 1 from the Ballet *The Red Poppy* for symphonic orchestra (1950)
 1. Danse des femmes malaises
 2. Danse avec l'éventail
 3. Danse ua restaurant
 4. Danse aux des d'or
 5. Danse victorieuse des koulis
 6. Danse des matelots internationaux
 7. Danse des matelots russes
 8. Danse des chinoises
 9. Danse des pavots
 10. Danse du saltimbanque chinois
 11. Charlston
 12. Danse sur le plat
 13. Danse avec des écharpes
 14. Danse du diable

15. Danse avec l'ombrelle

16. Danse avec le ruban

17. Valse-Boston

18. Danse avec la coupe

- Op.70b - Suite No. 2 from the ballet *The Red Poppy* for symphonic orchestra (1950)
- Op.70c - 3 Pieces from "The Red Poppy" Ballet - Piano solo

1. Adagio

2. Variation of Tao-Choa

3. Oriental Valse

- Op.71 - *Heroic March of the Burjat-Mongolian ASSR* (1934-36)
- Op.72 - Solemn overture for large symphonic orchestra in G major (1937)
- Op.73 - *Zapovit* (The bequest). Symphonic poem in E minor (1941)
- Op.74 - Concerto for harp and symphony orchestra in E♭ major (1938)
- Op.75 - *Feast in Fergana* [Ферганский праздник], overture for large symphonic orchestra in D major (1940)
- Op.76 - Fieldmarch for wind orchestra in B♭ Major (1941)
- Op.77 - Overture on Slavonic themes for symphonic orchestra in F major (1941)
- Op.78 - *Cleopatra, Egyptian nights*, Ballet mime in one act (1925)
- Op.79 - *The friendship of the peoples* Overture for symphonic orchestra in A major (1941)
- Op.80 - Symphonic Fantasy for Folk-Instruments orchestra in F major (1943)
- Op.81 - *Rachel*, opera in one act (1942-43)
- Op.82 - *Concerto for Coloratura and Orchestra* in F minor/F major (1942-43)
- Op.83 - *String Quartet No.4* in F minor (1943)
- Op.84 - *Twenty five years Red Army*, Overture for wind orchestra in E♭ minor (1943)
- Op.85 - Music to the play *Farhad and Shirin* (1946)
- Op.86 - *Victory* Overture for symphonic orchestra in B♭ minor (1944)
 - Op.86a - The above piece for wind orchestra (1945)
- Op.87 - Concerto for cello and symphonic orchestra in D minor (1945-46)
- Op.88 - Music to the movie *Alisher Navoi* (1947)
- Op.89 - *The Bronze Horseman* ballet in 4 acts (1948-49)
 - Op.89a - Suite from the Ballet *The Bronze Horseman* for symphonic orchestra (1949)

- **Op.89b** - The Bronze Horseman Ballet - 2 pieces arr. Piano solo
 - 2. Hymn to the Great City
 - 3. Valse
- **Op.89c** - Dance on the Square [Act 1] from “Bronze Horseman” Ballet - Piano 4 hands
- **Op.89d** - 4 Pieces from “Bronze Horseman” Ballet - Piano solo
 - 6. Dance of Materi & Parasha
 - 7. Dance of the Pensive Girl
 - 8. Dance of Parasha
 - 9. Dance of the Children
- **Op.90** - Concert waltz for symphonic orchestra in D \flat major (1950)
- **Op.91** - Concerto for Horn and symphonic orchestra in B \flat major (1950)
- **Op.92** - *Taras Bulba* ballet in 4 acts (1951-52)
- **Op.92a** - Suite from the ballet *Taras Bulba* for symphonic orchestra (1951-52)
- **Op.93** - *Glory of the Soviet army* Cantata for soloists, choir, narrator, symphonic- and wind orchestra (1953)
- **Op.94** - *Leili and Medshnun*, opera in 4 acts (1940)
- **Op.95** - Not Used
- **Op.96** - *Gyulsara*, opera in 4 acts (1949)
- **Op.97** - Festive overture for symphonic orchestra in D major (1955)
- **Op.98** - Not Used
- **Op.99** - *2 Pieces* for Piano (1955)
 - 0. Impromptu for the Left Hand
 - 1. Melodie
- **Op.100** - *Violin Concerto* (Concert-Allegro) in G minor, Posth., completed by [Boris Lyatoshinsky](#) (1956)

Works without Opus Number

- 1900
 - *Earth and Heaven*, opera-oratorio after the Poem of [George Gordon Byron](#)
- 1905
 - *Schluck und Jau* music after the play of Gerhardt Hauptmann

- 1908
 - *Pussy Willows* [Вербочки] for 2-part childrens chorus and piano ([Aleksandr Blok](#))
- 1914
 - *Fugue on a Russian Christmas Song* for organ or harmonium
- 1916
 - *Quiet and deep is the hour before the twilight*, Romance for voice and piano
- 1918
 - *Oj, u poli shito*, Septet for men and woman-voices
 - *Bulo lito*, Mixed Choir, à cappella
- 1919
 - *The Imitation of Ezekiel*, Symphonic Poem (Melodram) for narrator AND orchestra
- 1920
 - *Haidamaken*, Music to a piece of [Taras Shevchenko](#)
- 1921
 - *Whirlwind*, Music to a piece of [Emile Verhaeren](#)
- 1922
 - *Oedipus Rex*, Music to the Tragedy of [Sophocles](#)
- 1923
 - *Lysistrata*, Music to the Comedy of Aristophanes
 - *Through the grey smoke*, Quartet for men voices
- 1924
 - *The chalk circle*, Music to the play of Klabund
 - *For the Festival of the Komintern*, Fantasy for wing-orchestra
 - *March of the Red Army*, or wing orchestra
 - *Üsküdar*, Turkish song for Cornet (Trumpet) and piano
 - *The Grasshoppers*, Music to the play of E. O. Lyubimov-Lanskoy
 - *Old Waltz*, Romance for voice and piano
 - 2 Romances for voice and piano.
- 1926
 - *Esmeralda*, for symphony orchestra
- 1927
 - *Figaro's Wedding*, Music to the Comedy of [Pierre Beaumarchais](#)
- 1930
 - *Othello*, Music to the Tragedy of [William Shakespeare](#)

- 1931
 - *The earth is thirsty*, Music to the cinema film
- 1932
 - 2 Songs for Choir for two voices and piano
- 1933
 - *Conveyor belt of the death*, Music to the cinema film
- 1934
 - Symphonic Fragment
 - *Molière*, Music to the play of **Mikhail Bulgakov**
- 1935
 - *The governors' Buddhas*, Music to the cinema film
 - *The Cossacks whistled it*, Ukrainian folk song. For mixed Choir with big symphony orchestra.
- 1936
 - *Gyulsara*, musical drama
- 1937
 - *Gyulsara*, Overture of the musical drama
- 1938
 - *Song about the steam locomotive*, for voice and piano
- 1939
 - *Friends meet again*, Music to the cinema film
 - *Zdravica* (A Toast), for voice and orchestra
 - *Brave Hearts, In a front of heroic patriots...*, song for voice and piano
- 1941
 - *Brave Hearts, In a front of heroic patriots...*, transcription for solo voice and two voice Choir accompanied by piano
 - 2 Songs for voice and piano
- 1942
 - *For the Happiness of the Fatherland*, Overture for symphony orchestra
- 1943
 - *Young Mongolia*, Song for voice and piano
 - 2 mixed Choirs, à cappella
 - *Song of the work*, for solo voice and Choir accompanied by piano
- 1947

- Impromptu for harp and piano
- *Moscow stands*, for voice and piano
- 2 Romances for voice and piano
- *Letter to Siberia, In the depth of the Siberian ore...*, Vocal Quartet
- *The bride solicitor and the suitors*, Vocal Quartet
- 1953
 - *The end of ceremonial*, Choir after a Text of the Chinese poet Zjui Juan
- 1954
 - *March of the Soviet Army*, For folk instruments orchestra
 - *Song of the mothers*, womens choir
- Хоры:
 - Гимн труду
 - Гимн великому городу
 - Сияет солнце
 - Храброе сердце (Вперед, в поход, герои патриоты)
 -
 - [*Mongolian Song*](#) [Монгольская песенка]

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Barry, Edward. 'Weicher Plays Better Than His Audience Hears.' *Chicago Tribune*, March 21 1941.
- Bogdanov-Berezovskii, V. M., ed. *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7). 2 vols. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-7.
- Brodersen, Yuri. 'Искусство И Тринадцатый Октябрь [Art and the Thirteenth of October].'
Рабочий и Театр [Worker and Theatre] (6 November 1930).
- Bulgakov, Mikhail, and Michael Glenny. *The White Guard*. Vintage Classics. London: Vintage Books, 2006.
- Bunyan, James, Harold H. Fisher, and Frank Alfred Golder. *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918 : Documents and Materials*. Stanford, Calif.London: Stanford University Press ; H. Milford, Oxford university press, 1934.
- Frolova-Walker, Marina, and Jonathan Walker. *Music and Soviet Power, 1917-1932*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012.
- Gliere, Reinhold *Symphony No. 3 Ilya Muromets* [Sound Recording]. Naxos, 2013.
- Glière, Reinhold Moritsevich. *Die Sirenen : Symphonisches Gedicht Für Grosses Orchester = Les Sirènes : Poème Symphonique Pour Grand Orchestre, Op. 33*. Frankfurt: Belaieff, 1987.
- . *Ilya Muromets : Troisième Symphonie, (H-Moll), Pour Grande Orchestre, Op. 42*. 4 vols New York: E. F. Kalmus.
- Gliere, Reinhold Moritsevich, Peter Dixon, V. Sinaisky, and BBC Philharmonic Orchestra. *Overtures & Orchestral Works*. Essex, Colchester, England: Chandos,, 1997. sound recording, 1 sound disc : digital ; 4 3/4 in., Chan 9518 Chandos.
- Glière, Reinhold Moritsevich, Edward Downes, and BBC Philharmonic Orchestra. *Symphony No. 3, Op. 42 in B Minor Ilya Muromets*. Colchester, Essex, England: Chandos, 1991. sound recording.
- Glière, Reinhold Moritsevich, Harold Farberman, and Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. *Symphony No.3, 'Ilya Muromets'*. [London]: Unicorn, 1979.
- Graves, Robert. *The Greek Myths*. Penguin Books. Vol. 2, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955.
- Homer, and Alexander Pope. *The Odyssey*. 1992.
- La Grange, Henry-Louis de. *Gustav Mahler*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Liszt. *Eine Faust-Symphonie*. London: Eulenberg, 1857.

- Mammadova, Shevket. 'A Word About My Friend and Teacher.' In *Reyngold Moritsevich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials] 1965–7), edited by V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii, 246-256. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1967.
- Persson, DM. 'Concerts, Travel, Meetings: From Archival Materials 1903-1949.' In *Reyngold Moritsevich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965–7), edited by VM Bogdanov-Berezovsky, 187-249. Moscow: Muzgiz, 1965-67.
- Polekh, Valery. "Birth of the Gliere Concerto." *The Horn Call* XXIX, No. 3, no. May 1999 (1999).
- Prokofiev, Sergey. *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries : 1915-1923 : Behind the Mask* [in Translated from the Russian.]. Translated by Anthony Phillips. London: Faber, 2008.
- Prokofiev, Sergey, and Anthony Phillips. *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries, 1907-1914 : Prodigious Youth*. London: Faber and Faber, 2006.
- Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeevich, and Michael Basker. *Mednyi Vsadnik / the Bronze Horseman / A.S. Pushkin ; Edited with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography & Vocabulary by Michael Basker* [in Text in Russian, introduction and notes in English.]. Russian Texts Series. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2000.
- Slonimsky, Nicolas. *Perfect Pitch : A Life Story*. Oxford Oxfordshire ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Spanuth, August. 'Aus Berlin.' *Die Signale*, no. 5 (23 January 1908).
- Strauss, Richard, and Oscar Wilde. *Salome : In Full Score*. New York: Dover, 1981.
- Taneev, Serge Ivanovich. *Convertible Counterpoint in the Strict Style*. Boston: B. Humphries, 1962.
- Wagner, Richard. *Tristan Und Isolde* New York: Dover Publications, 1973.
- Wagner, Richard *Die Walküre* [in German, English and French words.]. Edition Eulenburg. London: Ernst Eulenburg, 1950.

Secondary Sources

- Abraham, Gerald. *Eight Soviet Composers*. London: Oxford University Press, 1943.
- Agawu, V. Kofi. *Music as Discourse : Semiotic Adventures in Romantic Music*. Oxford Studies in Music Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Anon. 'The Red Poppy Is Blooming Again.' Moscow: Voice of Russia, 2010.

- Ardoyn, John. *Valery Gergiev and the Kirov : A Story of Survival*. Portland, Or.: Amadeus Press, 2001.
- Bellman, Jonathan D. 'Musical Voyages and Their Baggage: Orientalism in Music and Critical Musicology.' *Music and Letters* 93, no. 3 (2011): 417-438.
- Belza, Igor. *R. M. Glier*. Moskva,: Muzykalnyi fond SSSR, 1955.
- Bertensson, Sergei, and Jay Leyda. *Sergei Rachmaninoff : A Lifetime in Music* [in English]. Russian Music Studies. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Blume, Friedrich, and Ludwig Finscher. *Die Musik in Geschichte Und Gegenwart : Allgemeine Enzyklopädie Der Musik*. 2., neubearbeit. Ausg. / ed. 21 vols Kassel, Stuttgart: Bärenreiter ;Metzler, 1994.
- Bowers, Faubion. *Scriabin : A Biography of the Russian Composer, 1871-1915*. 1st ed. 2 vols Tokyo Palo Alto [Calif.]: Kodansha International, 1969.
- Bugoslavskii, Sergei *Reingold Moritsevich Glier* [in German and Russian.]. Moscow: State Publishing, 1927.
- Cashin, Kathryn. 'Alexander Pushkin's Influence on the Development of Russian Ballet.' Florida State University, 2005.
- Donington, Robert. *Wagner's Ring and Its Symbols : The Music and the Myth*. London: Faber and Faber, 1963.
- Edmunds, Neil. *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Edmunds, Neil *Soviet Music and Society under Lenin and Stalin : The Baton and Sickle* [in English]. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Ezrahi, Christina. *Swans of the Kremlin : Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia*. Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Fanning, David. "Erinnerungen an Alexander Skrjabin." *Music and Letters*, 2006, pp. 471-473.
- Fay, Laurel E. *Shostakovich : A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Figs, Orlando. *Natasha's Dance : A Cultural History of Russia*. London: Allen Lane, 2002.
- Frolova-Walker, Marina. *Russian Music and Nationalism : From Glinka to Stalin* [in English]. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- . 'A Ukrainian Tune in Medieval France: Perceptions of Nationalism and Local Color in Russian Opera.' *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 35, no. No. 2 (2011): pp. 115-131.

- George, Arthur L., and Elena George. *St Petersburg : A History* [in English]. Rev. pbk. ed. Stroud: Sutton, 2006.
- Glière, Reinhold Moritseovich *Ilya Muromets Symphony No. 3, Op. 42* Cleveland, Ohio: Telarc, 2003. sound recording.
- Gulinskaya, Z. K. *Reinhold Moritseovich Glière* Moscow: Muzika, 1986.
- Hakobian, Levon. *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917-1987*. [Stockholm]: Melos, 1998.
- Hamm, Michael F. *Kiev : A Portrait, 1800-1917*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Heinzig, Dieter. *The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950 : The Arduous Road to the Alliance*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- Herrala, Meri Elisabet. *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948 Socialist Realism Vs. Western Formalism*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012.
- Homans, Jennifer. *Apollo's Angels : A History of Ballet*. New York: Random House, 2010.
- Ikonnikov, Alekseï A. *Myaskovsky : His Life and Work* [in English]. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946.
- Krebs, Stanley Dale. 'Reinhold Glière.' Chap. 7 In *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music*, 70-81. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1970.
- . *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1970.
- Kryukov, Andrei Nikolaevich. *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov*. Russkie I Sovetskie Kompozitory. Moskva: Izd-vo "Muzyka, 1982.
- Layton, Robert. *A Companion to the Symphony*. London: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
- Lemaire, Frans C. *Le Destin Russe Et La Musique : Un Siècle D'histoire De La Révolution a Nos Jours*. Les Chemins De La Musique. [Paris]: Fayard, 2005.
- Leonard, Richard Anthony. *A History of Russian Music*. London: Jarrolds, 1956.
- Leonova, M. F. *Simfonicheskie Proizvedeniia R. M. Gliera : Simfonii, Odnocastnye Sochineniia, Kontserty : Spravochnik-Putevoditel*. Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1962.
- Leonova, Marina. 'Simfonicheskoye Tvorchestvo Gliera.' In *Reyngold Moritseovich Glier: Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glier: Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7)], edited by V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii. Leningrad: Muzika, 1967.

- Lockwood, Lewis. 'Beethoven's Earliest Sketches for the "Eroica" Symphony.' *The Musical Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1981): 457-478.
- Maciejewski, B. M. *Karol Szymanowski : His Life and Music*. London: Poets and Painters Press, 1967.
- Maes, Francis. *A History of Russian Music : From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* [in Translation of *Geschiedenis van de Russische muziek*]. Berkeley ; Los Angeles ; London: University of California Press, 2002.
- Maksimenkov, Leonid. *Sumbur Vmesto Muzyki : Stalinskaia Kul'turnaia Revoliutsiia, 1936-1938*. Moskva: Iuridicheskaiia kniga, 1997.
- Mikkonen, Simo. *Music and Power in the Soviet 1930s : A History of Composers' Bureaucracy*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009.
- Misner, Michael 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's *Concerto for Horn and Orchestra* Op. 91.' University of Texas, 2001.
- Moisenco, Rena. *Realist Music : 25 Soviet Composers* [in English]. London: Meridian Books, 1949.
- Moisenco, Rena, and Workers' Music Association London. *Twenty Soviet Composers*. London: Workers' music association, 1942.
- Montagu-Nathan, M. *A History of Russian Music : Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Russian School of Composers, with a Survey of Their Lives and a Description of Their Works*. 2d ed. London: W. Reeves, 1918.
- Muir, Stephen. 'The Operas of N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov from 1897 to 1904.' University of Birningham, 2000.
- Naroditskaya, Inna. *Song from the Land of Fire : Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*. New York ; London: Routledge, 2002.
- Nepomnyashchy, Catherine. 'A Note on Glière's Ballet *the Bronze Horseman*.' In *Depictions*, edited by Douglas M. Greenfield. Dana Point: Ardis, 2000.
- Nice, David. *Prokofiev : From Russia to the West, 1891-1935*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Petrova, Natal'ya Efimovna, and Reingol'd Moritsevich Glier. *Рейнгольд Морицевич Глиэр, 1875-1956. Краткий Очерк Жизни И Творчества. Книжка Для Юношества. [with Illustrations, Including Portraits, and with Musical Examples.]*. Ленинград, 1962.
- Pougin, Arthur, and Lawrence Haward. *A Short History of Russian Music*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1915.

- Redepenning, Dorothea. *Geschichte Der Russischen Und Der Sowjetischen Musik Band 2 Das 20. Jahrhundert Texte Imprimâe* [in ger]. Geschichte Der Russischen Und Der Sowjetischen Musik. Laaber: Laaber, 2008.
- Rittikh, Mikhail. 'The Ballet Works of Glière '. In *Reyngold Moritsevich Glière : Stati, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), edited by V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-7.
- Rosenberg, William G. A. *I. Denikin and the Anti-Bolshevik Movement in South Russia*. Amherst College Honors Thesis. Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press, 1961.
- Ross, Alex. *The Rest Is Noise : Listening to the Twentieth Century* [in English]. London: Fourth Estate, 2012.
- Sabaneev, Leonid Leonidovich. *Modern Russian Composers*. London: Lawrence, 1927.
- Sargeant, Lynn M. *Harmony and Discord : Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*. New Cultural History of Music. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Schwarz, Boris. *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1970*. New York,: W. W. Norton, 1972.
- Sezhenskii , Konstantin R.M. *Glière*. First ed. Moscow: Ogiz, 1935.
- Slonimsky, Nicolas, and Electra Yourke. *Writings on Music*. 4 vols. Vol. 2, New York ; London: Routledge, 2004.
- Smith, Moses. *Koussevitzky* [in English]. New York: Allen, 1947.
- Souritz, E. I. A., and Sally Banes. *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*. London: Dance, 1990.
- Tarasti, Eero. *Myth and Music : A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, Especially That of Wagner, Sibelius and Stravinsky*. Approaches to Semiotics. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.
- Taruskin, Richard. *Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*. Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester, [England]: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- . *The Oxford History of Western Music*. 6 vols Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions : Biography of the Works through Mavra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Tassie, Gregor. *Nikolay Myaskovsky : The Conscience of Russian Music*. Rowman & Littlefield 2014.

- Tomoff, Kiril. *Creative Union : The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* [in English]. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Volkov, Solomon. *St. Petersburg : A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- Volkov, Solomon Moseievich. *Testimony : The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*. London: H. Hamilton, 1979.
- Wightman, Alistair. *Karol Szymanowski : His Life and Work*. Aldershot, England ; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. *Rostropovich : The Musical Life of the Great Cellist, Teacher, and Legend*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008.
- Yagolim, B. R. M. *Glière ; Notograficheskii Spravochnik*. Moskva,: Muzyka, 1964.
- Yakubov, Manashir. 'The Golden Age: The True Story of the Premiere.' In *Shostakovich Studies*, edited by David Fanning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Yekelchuk, Serhy. *Ukraine : Birth of a Modern Nation*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Youmans, Charles, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss*, Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Yuzefovich, Viktor Aronovich. *Aram Khachaturyan*. New York: Sphinx Press, 1985.
- Zeidman, Boris. 'Glière and the Musical Culture of Azerbaijan.' In *Reyngol'D Moritsevich Glière : Stat'I, Vospominaniya, Materiali* [R.M. Glière : Articles, Reminiscences, Materials (1965–7), edited by V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii, 216-234. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo 'Muzyka', 1965-1967.
- Zuk, Patrick. 'Nikolay Myaskovsky and the Events of 1948 '. *Music and Letters* 93, no. 1 (2012).

Uncategorized References

- Fay, Laurel E. *Shostakovich : A Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Huseynzadeh, Eldar "Shakh Senem." *Trend*, 2010.
- Khrennikov. Paper presented at the General Assembly of Soviet Composers, Moscow, 1948.
- Misner, Michael. 'A Historical and Analytical Discussion of Reinhold Gliere's Concerto for Horn and Orchestra Op. 91.' Texas, 2001.
- Sabaneyev, Leonid Leonidovich. *Modern Russian Composers*. London: Lawrence, 1927.

